

Sociology and Social Research . . . AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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Sociology and Social Research

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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

November-December, 1943

WAR AND THREE ETHICAL SYSTEMS

ORRIN E. KLAPP
Arlington, Virginia

● There are three dominant ethics in the Western tradition. These affect the conduct and thinking of people with respect to an issue such as the present war. Some important morale problems as well as problems of personal adjustment are explicable in terms of the present confusion of these three ethics.

The ideals of American life are undergoing a change to a hero or warrior ethic. The drama of war is cast, for the fighter at least, in terms of values that express the necessity of violence and conflict. It is impossible to consider war as a business, where rational and sordid values prevail, or, on the other hand, as a humane or philanthropic venture, where kindly, generous values prevail. Clearly these are inappropriate ethics. The terms of everyday life are too colorless, or too mild and gentle, to describe or justify the tremendous issues and sacrifices of war. The warrior ethic satisfies and achieves the ennoblement of violence, victory, pain, conquest, death, and other values which are essential to the evaluation of life as a conflict. The fundamental wisdom of struggle is expressed in maxims such as "live dangerously," "the race is to the swift," "a coward dies a thousand deaths," which state the belief that the supreme activity of man is war. The education of children in America is well stocked with examples that fortify this ethic, such as the saga of the Wild West; tales of patriotism and the struggle for independence; the Arthurian legends; the Greek, Norse, and Roman epics; and codes of play and

school athletics which inculcate the manly art of self-defense. Various warrior ethics of the East appear to reflect this same type of social wisdom, such as Mohammedanism or Shintoism. The imminence of values of war in life does not, however, preclude the existence of other ethics. The necessities of war seem both appropriate and shocking, because of the incomplete suppression of contrary ethics. Ethics of violence are complete in themselves and do not recognize objections raised by economists or humanitarians in terms of pain, cruelty, or waste, which are largely irrelevant. What is emphasized is glory, victory, valorous physical expression, and honor. The expression of contrary ethics, with a deterioration of heroic values, is regarded by some as a decline of the West.

A second, contrary ethic in America is the "brotherly love" ethic. It is essentially nonviolent, and directly counter to the heroic ethic. Various versions of this ethic are found in the East, as well as among Western peoples. The early Christians' noncooperation with the Roman government is paralleled by some present-day conscientious objections to the draft. The basic ideal here emphasized is universal consensus, not conflict. Men are to be loved, rather than fought. There is no particular virtue in living heroically, dangerously, or violently. The ideal man is not a hero, but (if need be) a *martyr*. "Love conquers all," "turn the other cheek," "those who live by the sword shall perish by the sword" express the humane judgment upon life. The goal of action is fellowship rather than victory. The means are persuasion and gentleness. If the values of the warrior ethic are pride and violence, here they are inverted to tolerance and humility. Again, all arguments presented by followers of the violence ethic against pacifism are irrelevant to the objectives of the humanity ethic. Each ethic, in its full implications, is a total viewpoint and, for the moment at least, admits of no other.

A third ethic reached philosophical prominence as the accepted doctrine of individualism of the nineteenth century. This exalts the interests of the individual over obligations to the group. The basic fact of life represented is isolation. The selfishness of the individual, detached from social bonds, is paramount. The maxims are caution, rationality, and prudence. Collective representations, in terms of the duty of self-sacrifice in war, or undue sacrifice for others, are regarded as irrational, "primitive mentality." Obligations to state or person are not defined by mystical tradition but by contract. Patriotism and nationalism are sentimentality or myth. Society is an aggregation of strangers. *Laissez faire*, utilitarianism, private property, art-for-art's sake, skepticism, egoism, and anarchism keynote the liberation of this ethic and its operation in large masses of people. Urbanism and the civilized mode of life appear to favor its development. It will be seen that only by limitation of logic and restriction to appropriate situations can conflict of this ethic with the ethics of heroism and humanity be avoided.

Comparison of these three ethics reveals fundamentally different evaluations of human relations and conceptions of social organization. The first, or warrior ethic, visualizes a world of conflicting groups, each defining groups outside as nonhuman and proceeding with a war of extermination, repulsion, or conquest. The second expresses, on the other hand, the ideal solidarity of humanity, which includes all groups, and not one group versus another. There is no admission of violence or conflict. In the third ethic the selfishness of the individual is exalted. Social organization is reduced to a congeries of monads, or isolated persons. Despite the disparities between the former two ethics, the values they express are thoroughly social. In the warrior ethic, the hero is glorified always in terms of the admiration and loyalty of a group, never as a

selfish individual surviving alone. The humanity ethic idealizes those who will sacrifice all petty or local interests for a higher totality than a particular group. On the other hand, the individualistic ethic idealizes a selfish struggle, or a discreet escape, without obligations and without concepts of loyalty or heroism—the classic egoist of Stirner.

With respect to relations to government, neither the humanity nor the individualistic ethic supports the state. Neither recognizes the fundamental validity of political groups. One places the individual as primary; the other envisages all humanity. In the individualistic ethic the state is regarded as the servant of the individual; he has no loyalties or obligations to it aside from a purely business interest. If the state ceases to serve the individual, or sacrifices his interest, he disposes of it and gets another. This is basically the notion of the “right of revolution” or of “civil disobedience.” On the other hand, the brotherly love ethic is unsuitable to the service of government in the prosecution of a war. To this ethic war is evaluated as a crime against humanity. The interests of a state are secondary or accidental. National or racial distinctions, which are so important for generating the fighting spirit in a war, are minimized. What is more important is the international or nonnational brotherhood. Furthermore, the very means of violence, which is essential to war, is proscribed by this ethic. Hence, it is imperative that the acts of a state at war, and the conduct of individuals in it, be dramatized exclusively in terms of a warrior ethic.

The comparison of these three ethics may be made on another plane, which is more closely akin to evaluation. Ethics are adjustments, or “ways of getting along” in certain types of situations. They represent fundamental facts of life. Every society presents situations of conflict, of community and consensus, and of isolation and strangeness. In situations where conflict is predominant, it seems

appropriate to adopt a heroic ethic. Other ethics seem inappropriate. In the isolation of a big city, the friendliness of rural life seems to be out of place, and is dropped soon in favor of a more sophisticated manner. If these ethics are successful adjustments to certain situations of life, other ethics, in the same situations, are probably less successful. A norm of adjustment may be created. An ethic out of situation is regarded as maladjustment. A person who applies other than a heroic ethic, for instance, to the present war—who views it as a selfish and individual proposition or as an opportunity for pacifism, appeasement, and brotherly love—is in some sense of the word maladjusted. Yet, in a moral sense, no ethic is categorically “wrong.” It is socially recognized and approved, and hence it is always a “legitimate point of view” in any situation. The person who adheres too rigidly to one ethic, and carries it out of its most appropriate situation, always finds a modicum of support in some minority, which considers that the logic of one ethic is not extended far enough, but should be followed as an exclusive principle of life. Hence, there are rugged individualists like Thoreau, pacifists like Tolstoy, and militarists like Hitler who appear to carry their principles too far.

Given acts of an individual may generally be imputed to some ethic. People generally think or act in terms of one ethic at a time. They change ethics according to the situation. No person or culture represents a purification of entirely one point of view, although one may be emphasized in a tradition. All of these ethics are acting now in the Western tradition. It is impossible to expect that in a large, heterogeneous population, such as that of the United States, there will be a single ethic, or definition, for even such a crucial event as a war. The confusion of these three ethics is apparent in the thinking and conduct of the average American. While at one time he is playing the

role of hero, performing great tasks of valor and sacrifice, at another time he is the selfish individual, calculating and grasping each gain, counting costs, hoarding, and allowing at no point in his reckoning the concept of total sacrifice (which is an inconceivable bankruptcy from the individualistic point of view). At still another time he is negating the values of war, and also those of the selfish individual, with an inexplicable kindness and gentleness, which may be designated as the Christian ethic, but which the warrior calls "softness" or "cowardice" and the selfish individual calls "prudence" or "imprudence," as the case may be, leading to such uncalled-for acts in war as extraordinary mercy, or fraternization between the battle lines. All these ethics present a political problem. Regardless of the official definition, individual ethics continue to operate uncontrolled, unconscious largely, and, from the political point of view, chaotic, with no particular group interest being served. A major problem in morale is to focus and control these ethics and to make sure that the right ethic is being played on the right situation and other ethics temporarily abated or suppressed.

Morale may be regarded as the capacity to adhere to a heroic ethic, and falling into other ethics, such as disloyalty and selfishness, as a loss of morale. This is appropriate from a military point of view. The problem of government is to shift people into a warrior ethic and to keep them there. This is a dramatic or artistic problem, for heroism is a social role. It is subject to the same factors as other roles, whether consciously dramatic or unwitting: belief, imagination, encouragement, practice, example, rehearsal, suggestion, adequate cues and settings, and so forth. Sociologists, such as Sullivan and Moreno, have given some attention to the practical problem of evoking roles. So also have students of the psychology of suggestion. Dramatists probably know more than psychologists

about the art of creating and invoking roles. Morale should not be regarded as primarily a "quantity," the relative presence or absence of which will cause a group to carry on or fail in an effort. Losses of morale are by sudden shifts, from one established role to another, not a slow seeping or deteriorative process. The slow process, that of building up a role, is not thoroughly understood. But it is possible, at least, to observe the presence and qualitative shifts of roles.

Conversion of enlisted individuals to a warrior ethic has been in some degree solved by the mere process of putting them in uniform. The badge or uniform is a dramatic cue for playing the role of the hero and the warrior. The man who puts on a uniform finds a marked psychological change in his bearing and attitude from the mere fact of his costume, which is a "setting" for the drama in which he is now to play a part. Civilians, who are left behind in the routines of civil life, do not feel this. There is no similar setting provided for them, to shift them into the role and the drama of war. Even bombings and black-outs may be regarded as unusual or catastrophic happenings, impersonal forces of disaster, rather than cues for the assumption of the warrior ethic. Neither do appeals to self-interest or the profit motive, in war production and in the sale of war bonds, contribute to the setting for the adoption of a heroic role.

There is a problem of education, also, the solution for which, unfortunately, cannot be retroactive. Years of education as nonwarriors, as businessmen, whose primary vocation was peace rather than war, have served to emphasize the ethics of individualism and humanity more than is desirable for the immediate future of a nation that is obviously destined for war. Neither of these ethics is wholly competent to bear the state through a critical war. The need for military conscription is, *ipso facto*, evidence of

the insufficiency of spontaneous manifestation of the warrior ethic in the face of competing ethics in the Western world. People who adhere too rigidly to the humane or individualistic ethics are unprepared either to fight or to sacrifice, or both. Only the warrior ethic appears to provide the background necessary for victory.

THE NATURE OF SOCIAL CONTROL

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● The mind of man has been ever busy with two problems—the control of the forces of nature and the control of the behavior of his fellow human beings. These two types of efforts to control one's environment overlap, of course, as when a man endeavors to harness a river, partly because he wishes to obtain wealth for the domination of his neighbors. Yet for purposes of study it is useful to distinguish control of nature from control of social behavior. It should be observed, also, that man's techniques for managing the natural forces around him have, with the development of science, become increasingly dependable and satisfying, while methods of social control have shown little change from the dawn of history, at least until recently with the use of such agencies for mass propaganda as the press, the movie, and the radio.

Social control is a collective term for those processes and agencies, planned or unplanned, by which individuals are taught, persuaded, or compelled to conform to the usages and life values of the groups to which they belong. Social control, accordingly, exists when one group determines the behavior of another group, when the group controls the conduct of its own members, or when individuals influence the responses of others. Social control, consequently, operates on three levels—group over group, the group over its members, and individuals over their fellows. In other words, social control exists when a person is induced or forced to act in the interest of others rather than in accordance with his own individual interests.¹

¹ For a similar definition see Kimball Young, *Introductory Sociology* (revised edition; Cincinnati: American Book Company, 1939), p. 520.

Social control should be distinguished from self-control, although the two are closely akin. Social control refers to the individual's attempt to control the behavior of others in accord with his wishes, while self-control refers to the individual's attempt to control his own behavior in accord with some previously developed ideal, goal, or purpose. This goal is, of course, usually determined by the values and folkways of the group to which the individual belongs. In a sense, then, self-control is derived from, and is a form of, social control. For example, a boy may exhibit self-control in a doctor's office, but his effort to avoid crying out from pain probably comes from his idea of the proper conduct of a teen-age boy; and, as every school nurse knows, his self-control will be strengthened by the presence of one of his comrades. For convenience, consequently, social control and self-control are to be separated, but their close relationship needs to be recognized.

Social control should not be confused with personal leadership. When one person tries to control the behavior of others, he is usually thought of as exercising leadership rather than social control. But, when he gathers a group of followers who join with him in endeavoring to influence the conduct of a larger group, he is acting as an agent of social control. In addition, it should be noted that leadership is sometimes used as a term of approbation for those whose attempts at social control are in harmony with one's own wishes or life values. Somewhat similarly, propaganda may be a term to indicate the speaker's disapproval of some effort at social control. As a precise term, propaganda is preferably used to mean a form of social control that is believed to be prompted by some concealed motive.

The development of the concept of social control. As a generalization about human behavior, social control is both old and new. In the earliest and most primitive forms of human life, social control actually existed as a potent

force in organizing sociocultural behavior. Just as the individual is enveloped in the atmosphere, he is so surrounded from birth to death by social control that he may be unaware of its existence unless insight or unusual experience leads him to its recognition. Accordingly, any formal statement of the concept is comparatively recent, although it is foreshadowed in Plato's *Republic*, 369 B.C., and Comte's *Positive Philosophy*, 1830-1842, and is greatly clarified in Lester F. Ward's *Dynamic Sociology*, 1883.

In 1894, Small and Vincent in discussing the effect of authority upon social behavior observed that even leaders are greatly influenced and limited by the will of their followers. These authors then conclude, "The reaction of public opinion upon authority makes social control a most delicate and difficult task."² This somewhat incidental reference seems to have been the first use of the term in scholarly writings.³ In the same year Ross "developed the germs" of the first book in this field.⁴ This volume finally appeared in 1901.⁵ In it Ross acknowledges his debt to Lester F. Ward, his friend and counselor.

In his treatment of social control Ross excludes the influence of the individual upon the group and the importance of crowd behavior. Consequently, his conception now seems somewhat narrow. He emphasized what were once called "social instincts"—sympathy, sociability, and a sense of justice—and the means by which the group brings pressure upon the individual, especially in crisis situations, to induce him to act in accordance with the folkways and mores. The so-called social instincts are now

² Albion W. Small and George E. Vincent, *Introduction to the Study of Society* (New York: American Book Company, 1894), p. 328.

³ A. B. Hollingshead, "The Concept of Social Control," *American Sociological Review*, 6:217-24, April, 1941.

⁴ Edward A. Ross, "Recollections of a Pioneer in Sociology," *Social Forces*, 20:32, October, 1941.

⁵ Ross, *Social Control* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901).

neglected, but the means of social control have continued to receive the attention of scholars, even though the tendency is now to emphasize the pervasiveness of social control in everyday life as well as its power in times of crisis.

In the year following the appearance of Ross' pioneer volume, Cooley presented a conception of social control that admirably supplements that of Ross.⁶ Cooley's emphasis is on the effect of group pressure upon the personality of the individual and the necessity of studying a person's social life in order to understand his behavior. In particular, his discussion of "the looking-glass self" and the social origins of the conscience has been far reaching in leading others to study the process of socialization and the interaction between the individual and his group.⁷

A third aspect of social control is emphasized by W. G. Sumner.⁸ According to this author, social behavior cannot be understood without a study of the folkways, mores, institutions, and value-judgments which indicate the rules of conduct of the group. These sociocultural forms which organize the responses of individuals are of primary importance in deciding the direction in which social control operates. In other words, the life values and social organization of the group largely determine whether the agents of social control will encourage or inhibit any specific item of behavior. Sumner's volume, which has been called "the Old Testament of the sociologists," treats of social control only incidentally but is of great significance in showing, largely by a profusion of illustrations, how folkways and institutions limit the behavior of individuals—"the mores can make anything right and prevent condemnation of anything."⁹

⁶ Charles H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902).

⁷ *Ibid.*, chapters V and X.

⁸ Sumner, *Folkways* (New York: Ginn and Company, 1906).

⁹ *Ibid.*, especially Chapter XV.

Thus, three of the "founding fathers of sociology" made important contributions toward developing an understanding of the nature and effects of social control. From these early writings to the present-day ones, the concept has been little altered in its essentials, although there have been significant variations in emphasis. These variations seem to fall into three groups, somewhat representing the approaches of the pioneers described above: those who, like Ross, discuss the number and complexity of the means by which the agents of social control attain uniformity of behavior; those who, like Cooley, devote their efforts to explaining the effects of social control upon the development of personality; and those who, like Sumner, are concerned with the rules and agencies that organize human behavior into patterns. These emphases are, of course, supplementary, and leaders in each group have made important contributions to the subject.

Purposes of social control. The purposes of social control, according to Kimball Young, are (1) to increase the regularity of human behavior and (2) to make possible greater predictability, stability, and continuity of social life.¹⁰ These purposes may possibly guide unselfish social scientists, but most men who endeavor to control their fellows indicate little altruism or perspective in their efforts. Often they merely struggle to increase the acceptance of the modes of conduct that they themselves prefer. This preference may be based upon childhood training, insight derived from life experience, or the desire to exploit others in order to gain power—economic, personal, or political. Social control, it is true, often perpetuates the accumulated wisdom of men long gone, but only rarely are living men and women cognizant of the significance of the cultural patterns they transmit or modify. Some reformers and exploiters do seem aware of their purposes and aims,

¹⁰ Young, *Introductory Sociology*, *op. cit.*, p. 521.

but most of them either lack insight or conceal their true motives by "good reasons" in the form of altruistic rationalizations. Examples of such rationalizations may easily be observed in radio or newspaper advertising.

In long-time perspective, of course, the social scientist can note that the efforts of men to obtain greater acceptance of their own values and patterns of living do result in a greater regularity and predictability of social behavior. The assumption, however, that men in general are concerned with the advantages of regularity or predictability of conduct is difficult of acceptance without also assuming that the average man possesses a high degree of insight and social understanding.

The student may well attempt for himself an analysis of the purposes of social control by observing a number of illustrations and then attempting to discover the motives involved, especially those that are concealed or unconscious. Advertising and propaganda in their varied forms can be readily classified as more or less exploitative. But it is more difficult to understand the motivation of parents who endeavor to train their children in outmoded patterns of conduct. Such parents may be unconsciously identifying themselves with their own parents, they may be assuming that what proved satisfactory to them will also be good for their children, or they may be acting primarily from habit and distrust of the unfamiliar. Self-appointed guardians of respectability and morals may be honestly trying to prevent others from making costly errors or they may be covertly struggling for recognition in the community.

The motivation of teachers illustrates the complexity of the purpose behind efforts to control the conduct of others. All teachers are active agents of social control, but their motives are not easy to catalogue. A few obviously enjoy the prestige of exercising control over the behavior of others. Some cautiously adhere to the preferences of the

powerful, while others, warped or embittered by their own experiences, use their classrooms as vantage points for attacks upon the prevailing folkways and life values. Many carry on the traditions without much attempt at revaluation or realistic alteration to meet contemporary needs. Some, at least, have identified themselves with the attempt to improve human conditions by training others. Such an analysis of the motives of teachers and of other agents of social control can easily be continued to great length, but perhaps sufficient indication has been given of the complexity and the obscurity of the purposes of those who endeavor to influence the behavior of others.

If a simple classification is desired, however, the general purposes of the agents of social control can be designated roughly as (1) *exploitative*, motivated by some form of self-interest, direct or indirect; (2) *regulatory*, based upon habit and the desire for behavior of the customary types; and (3) *creative* or constructive, directed toward social change believed to be beneficial. But again it should be remembered that motivation is often too complex or too obscure for easy analysis or classification.

Social control and the future. One reason for the increasing importance of social control is that an individual acting alone is almost powerless. Consequently, he must endeavor to influence others to join him in working for the goal that he desires. For example, individual initiative can hardly solve unemployment in the United States when millions are hunting for work. This impotence of the individual has led, especially in democracies, to a significant multiplication of the voluntary agencies of social control—committees, conferences, clubs, associations, leagues, institutes, bureaus, corporations, and foundations. Proposals and counterproposals, demands and protests compete for public attention. Only the discerning can hear the voice of wisdom in the babel of discord.

The effectiveness of social control, whether democratic or authoritarian in nature, also largely decides the success or failure of social planning. One source, in fact, of the interest in social control is the reaction against evolutionary determinism, a doctrine that represents society as the resultant of forces, often mechanistic, that operate almost automatically, regardless of man's efforts. In opposition to such a fatalistic view of society, Lester F. Ward proposed his conception of "social telesis," the possibility and efficacy of intelligent and collective planning and superiority of the human mind over the blind forces of nature.¹¹ Ward's position has been strengthened by the recent collapse of laissez-faire economic individualism and the general recourse to governmental aid and control of business.

The disintegrating forces which frequently develop in complex modern cultures are likely to be accompanied by strenuous efforts to secure uniformity of conduct. This tendency is increased by greater familiarity with effective methods of influencing behavior. "Having the knowledge we may set hopefully at work upon a course of social invention and experiment."¹² In the totalitarian states, this emphasis upon social control seems already to have reached near the maximum in state direction and regulation. In the future, however, even more complex cultures may develop and be accompanied by strong pressures for greater social conformity, either from voluntary or from authoritarian controls.

¹¹ Lester F. Ward, *Dynamic Sociology* (New York: Appleton and Company, 1883), Vol. I, pp. 74-75. See also Samuel Chugerman, *Lester F. Ward, the American Aristotle* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1939).

¹² John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1922), p. 148.

LABOR UNDER REVIEW*

May, 1942-June, 1943

MELVIN J. VINCENT

The University of Southern California

● The past fourteen months have witnessed an active "war of nerves" in the labor field. Three coal strikes in a two-month period stirred United States public opinion to the boiling point. Governmental administration of labor seemed to have no consistent policy. The state of confusion in labor affairs was in part fueled by the steady advance of food costs, some localities reporting an increase of nearly 40 per cent over January, 1941. The War Labor Board decided that wage earners might receive only a 15 per cent raise in wages with January, 1941, as the base point. Reports of fat war profits for the operators of war industries increased the number of strikes in war plants. The farm bloc in Congress worked steadily to assure the great farm interests' ever-increasing returns. The President warned the nation on the dangers of inflation and announced a "hold-the-line" policy for wage increases. The Secretary of the Treasury called for bigger taxes. So Congress passed a tax bill withholding 20 per cent of the weekly pay envelope. Workers who had already pledged 10 per cent of their weekly pay to buy bonds began to feel the pinch. Labor began to threaten that, unless drastic steps were taken to reduce the cost of living, the no-strike pledge for the duration might have to be abrogated. The biggest spending spree in the history of the United States was occurring. Who was getting all the money? Store receipts were growing despite rationing. Movie attendance was at peak levels, luxury department stores were being visited and patronized by newly enriched war industrial workers. Suffering were the thousands of unorganized

workers and white-collar men, many of whom were getting less than they had received in 1941. They were mollified by being told that they were better off than soldiers who had to join the army at \$50 a month and risk their lives to boot. The miners, ever the stepchildren of the industrial world, took the lid off the kettle and received the anger of a nation at war. But they were organized and had John L. Lewis for a leader.

By his enemies, John L. Lewis is looked upon as a Machiavellian opportunist. By his miners, he is viewed as the only man who can get them pay raises and better working conditions. By the public, he is looked upon as almost a traitor to his country. His war record as viewed by the press is bad. He does not like the President and he has spat upon the War Labor Board. He has never openly avowed unbounded enthusiasm for the war. His three coal mine strikes have probably done considerable damage to the war efforts, but the mine operators have not been guiltless. To climax all this, the general labor element now seems to hold him responsible for the first really bad break for labor since 1933, the passage of the Smith-Connally-Harness Antistrike bill over a Presidential veto. Nonetheless, it was John L. Lewis who set the tempo for the labor events in the United States for the past year.

Change has been the most notable factor in the industrial scene. Gearing itself to the greatest era of productivity ever undertaken by any nation, change was inevitable. When rapid change becomes a characteristic of the social situation, crises are inevitable. The search for manpower superseded the old specter of unemployment. With the military forces demanding something like ten million men, war production enterprises clamoring for more help, and farmers declaring that the nation's crops were in dangerous plight on account of lack of help, tension on the home front increased by leaps and bounds. Congress had

in waiting a bill to draft both men and women alike for essential services. No one could be sure what was in store for him. Little wonder then that the whole nation got the "jitters" from all this confusion in the total situation. In the midst of it, threats were hurled at almost everybody. Organized labor threatened, the National Association of Manufacturers became nightmarish over the prospects of a closed shop, Vice-President Wallace and Secretary of Commerce Jesse F. Jones quarreled and both were reprimanded by the President, Congress began to take an antagonistic stand toward the President on several important issues regarding labor, the draft, and the cost of living. If there is one thing that stands out pre-eminently in all this, it is the importance of labor in time of war. No military enterprises may be undertaken without cooperation of the labor front at home.

It is the purpose of this review to present the most important labor events which have occurred from May, 1942, to the end of June, 1943, the period of crises on the home labor front. The materials have been gleaned from the news items in the daily press, from the radio news commentators' daily reports, and from the weekly news magazines. The events have been arranged chronologically, month by month, and represent what the writer thought were the most significant for both the present and the future.

MAY, 1942

National Association of Manufacturers attacks the War Labor Board on the grounds that the Board's settlement of the International Harvester Company's dispute virtually gave organized labor a "closed shop." "America wants victory, not the 'closed shop,'" declared the N.A.M. The Board did not grant such a shop, but compromised by upholding a "maintenance of membership" clause in the contract. This compels workers who have signed the labor contract to keep on paying union dues for the life of the contract, but does not force workers to join the union.

Organized labor begins to suspect that the rising cost of living will run ahead of wage levels and that the pledge not to strike for the duration will be difficult to keep.

JUNE, 1942

The Manpower Mobilization Board frightens workers with announcement that war workers were to be frozen on the job. Many workers were changing to jobs with better pay, many employers were enticing workers with promises of better pay.

For most practical purposes, the rights of collective bargaining, guaranteed by the Wagner Act, have been abrogated at least temporarily by the pledge not to strike, by the announced policy of keeping wages at existing levels, by proposed freezing on the job.

JULY, 1942

The now famous "Little Steel Formula" handed down by the War Labor Board. This decision held that workers were entitled to an increase of wages of about 15 per cent over January, 1941, since living costs had advanced that much. In April, 1942, the President had announced his anti-inflation "hold-the-line" policy. The decision was not unanimous, the four representatives of labor on the Board voting against it. In order to get more than the 15 per cent, workers must prove that their wages were substandard on January 1, 1942.

AUGUST, 1942

The U. S. Navy asks the West Coast shipyards to discharge loafing workers, and that draft boards be directed to induct these into the military services. (Note that later this becomes the "big stick" method to coerce recalcitrant workers.)

SEPTEMBER, 1942

The War Labor Board punishes a union for breaking the "no-strike" pledge by denying to it the "maintenance of membership" clause. Also stretches the "Little Steel Formula" in granting a 5½ cent-an-hour pay raise to 250,000 U.S. Steel Corporation workers and makes the raise retroactive to February 15, thus breaking a C.I.O.-U.S. Steel wage contract which ran through August.

OCTOBER, 1942

John L. Lewis marches his mineworkers out of the C.I.O. as he did in 1935 when he left the A.F. of L.

The War Labor Board hints that it would approve "pay incentives" as a method for bettering pay and increasing production.

Entrance of women into the industrial world indicative of the vast social changes taking place. Women working as conductorettes, taxi drivers, lumber workers, and at paving streets, repairing railway tracks, even garbage collecting. Nation-wide survey and registration of women talked about.

NOVEMBER, 1942

The War Labor Board decides to cling to the "Little Steel Formula." Will not vote for pay increases that might boost prices, hamper the war effort, or lure workers to other jobs.

Montgomery, Ward & Company gives battle to the War Labor Board order requiring it to sign a union security contract with over six thousand C.I.O. worker employees. The company declared that Congress never gave the Board any such power.

Manpower shortage reported as becoming acute. Hint that the work week hours may be extended. Total civilian and military employment rose from 47,746,000 in June, 1940, to 59,200,000, of whom 28 per cent were women. Unemployed listed as about 2,000,000.

DECEMBER, 1942

Works Progress Administration dissolved by Presidential order. In seven and a half years it had spent ten and a half billions of dollars to relieve unemployment, had given eight million workers jobs. Most important accomplishments were the construction of 644,000 miles of roads, 77,000 bridges, and 116,000 buildings for schools, libraries, hospitals, museums, and airports.

War Labor Board again upheld the "Little Steel Formula" in denying C.I.O. Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers pay raises even though their contract called for such. First time that the Board has overruled an "escalator" cost of living scale in a wage contract. The Board also for the first time took away a "maintenance of membership" contract from the workers in a chemical plant at East Alton, Ill., because they went on strike.

JANUARY, 1943

Wildcat, leaderless strike on in the coal mines of East-Central Pennsylvania because of an increase in union dues. The President sharply ordered the miners back to work "or else." Typifies growing unrest of the miners against rising living costs.

FEBRUARY, 1943

Big push on by organized labor to get rid of the "Little Steel Formula."

Manpower shortage talk centers on the topic, "How big an Army do we really need?" War Manpower's Paul V. McNutt reported ready to compromise on nine million.

President Roosevelt orders the national work week set at 48 hours, time and a half pay to be given for hours above 40 in accordance with provisions of Fair Labor Standards Act. Designed to make further hiring of workers unnecessary and to force consumer industries to get rid of employees not needed under a longer working week.

MARCH, 1943

Absenteeism in war plants causes alarm, even in Congress. Eddie Rickenbacker takes up a cudgel against it. War production reported to be lagging on account of it. Three types noted: unavoidable, preventable, and inexcusable. Congress talked about passing a "Work or Fight" bill to combat absenteeism. "Pay incentive" plans urged to overcome it.

West Coast aircraft workers stage a series of short-period strikes as protests against delaying of decisions by War Labor Board. The Board responded shortly thereafter by giving the workers a $4\frac{1}{2}$ cent-an-hour increase instead of a demanded $22\frac{1}{2}$ cent increase. C.I.O.'s Philip Murray blasts the Board for its niggardliness.

John L. Lewis re-elected to serve his twelfth term as President of the United Mine Workers Union, and promptly threatened to call a big coal strike on April 1 unless the miners were given a \$2-a-day increase.

A new kind of union movement receives public attention, the union for foremen. The Foremen's Association of America, 14,000 members, petitions the N.L.R.B. for permission to become the chief bargaining agent in General Motors. Controversy centered about the point, "Are foremen a part of labor or of management?" General Motor's President Wilson asks Congress to prevent the union formation of foremen on the grounds that such a union might come to include everyone short of vice-presidents, leaving the power of management near the zero level.

APRIL, 1943

John L. Lewis appears before the Truman Committee of Congress to explain his threat of a coal strike. Lewis told the Committee that the War Labor Board had broken its faith with the unions when it adopted the "Little Steel Formula." Furthermore, he announced that he did not regard the no-strike pledge as binding.

May 1 set as the date for the new coal strike unless the demands for a new contract with portal-to-portal pay were met. This would give the \$2-a-day increase demanded. Lewis also openly flouted the War Labor

Board by refusing to send representatives to the Board Panel hearing on the dispute. Mr. Lewis attempting to force President Roosevelt to take over the mines, which the mine operators do not want at any cost.

MAY, 1943

Sporadic coal mine strikes cause 14,000 miners to be idle in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Alabama.

Secretary of the Interior Ickes made Solid Fuels Coordinator, a position which made him a custodian of the mines for the government, and whose appointment caused the United States flag to be flown over the mines. Mr. Ickes set about conferring with Mr. Lewis and a truce was arranged until May 31. Lewis thought he had by-passed the War Labor Board. Moreover, the press thought he had also outwitted President Roosevelt by announcing the truce just twenty minutes before the President was scheduled to give a radio report to the nation on the coal mine situation.

The War Labor Board claimed to have threatened to resign unless Mr. Lewis was made to comply with its orders to appear before it. The Board also grew incensed at Mr. Ickes, who had to retreat. Finally, the President upheld the War Labor Board, and thereupon the Board ordered both miners and operators to submit their differences to it by June 9. Lewis adamantly refused to comply.

James F. Byrnes appointed to head the new Office of War Mobilization, created to supervise all war agencies and efforts.

The Senate passes the Smith-Connally bill making it a crime to incite a strike on government-owned property.

The War Labor Board decides that the Foremen's Association of America has managerial functions, and that it cannot claim collective bargaining rights under the Wagner Act.

John L. Lewis and his United Mine Workers petition the A.F. of L. to take them back.

JUNE, 1943

The big coal strike started on June 1, lasted for six days, involved 530,000 workers, and cost the nation millions of dollars in loss of production and coal. The strike ended with another notification of "no contract, no work," and the extension of a truce until June 20. The War Labor Board ordered all negotiations between miners and operators to cease on the second day of the strike. The House passed the Senate's Smith-Connally bill with some amendments and sent it to the President on June 15. On June 25, at the last hour, President Roosevelt sent the bill back,

vetoed. Within two hours and fifteen minutes, both houses overrode the veto and the bill became law. Called the Smith-Connally-Harness Antistrike Act, it imposes a \$5,000 fine or one year's imprisonment on anyone inciting a strike in a government-owned plant, gives the W.L.B. the right to subpoena witnesses and bring civil suits, fortifies the Presidential power to take over war industrial plants, and provides, in privately owned plants, workers with the right to strike only after a thirty-day notation has been made.

Coal strike III began on June 21. An aroused President, Congress, and Nation halted the strike quickly. John L. Lewis ordered the miners back to work on the 22nd, but it took a week or more to get things back to approximately near the normal. A new date for the ending of the truce was set for October 1. At the end of June, the labor situation was in large part predicated upon what effects the Smith-Connally-Harness Antistrike Act might have. Many thought that the net result of its passage would be to increase the number of strikes. Some labor leaders threatened retaliation at the polls for the Congressmen who came up for re-election. Certain it was that Congress had decided to take a hand in the shaping of future labor policy.

Summarizing the eventful fourteen months under review, eight outstanding facts may be noted. These are: (1) the adoption of the "Little Steel Formula"; (2) the determination of labor organizations to overthrow the "Formula" unless the rise in the cost of living was checked; (3) the Lewis defiance of the War Labor Board; (4) the three great but short-lived coal strikes; (5) the call for the adoption of "pay incentives" as a means to satisfy wage demands and to encourage greater and speedier war production; (6) the growing manpower shortage and the consequent demands for a labor draft or the curtailment of the army demands; (7) the wholesale entrance of women into industrial occupations hitherto reserved for men; and (8) the passage over Presidential veto of the antistrike law, the first legislation directed against labor since 1933, and implying the determination of Congress to have a voice in the shaping of future labor policy.

Outstanding figures in the whole situation have been President Roosevelt, John L. Lewis, members of the War

Labor Board, Paul V. McNutt of the War Manpower Office, Harold L. Ickes, Solid Fuels Coordinator, and James F. Byrnes, head of the Office of War Mobilization. John L. Lewis emerged from his struggle with the forces of government as the most powerful but hissed-at labor leader in the United States.

It is doubtful whether the best interests of the country have been served by the passage of the antistrike law, and already there have been enough strikes taking place to cast some doubts upon its efficacy to halt industrial unrest. The threat to induct striking men into the Army is hardly in keeping with the best democratic practices and, if carried out, would serve to link the Selective Service law with punitive acts. Indicated is a definite need for a fair and reasonable labor policy commensurate with the war aims of a democracy. It becomes increasingly clear that war-time is seized upon by many as a time of ripe opportunity to gather in profits. What great difference is there between the producer who will not produce unless he is offered encouraging profits and the worker who will not work unless he is granted increased wages? The only way to take this pleasure out of the game of war is to firmly freeze prices, profits, and wages. Who are the patriots anyway? At any rate, there looms the possibility that the immediate future may see a bestowal of more powers on the War Labor Board, a greater and tougher governmental surveillance of both autocratic employers and labor leaders, and increased attempts to secure a public opinion that will frown sternly upon threatened and actual strikes in war industrial plants.

BEHAVIORAL BASES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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● This article is concerned with those social movements, whether of approach or withdrawal,¹ which represent collective problem-solving behavior. Although their causative factors are not too dissimilar, *negative* collective behavior of the fanatical, revelous, and panic types has a motivational history and total patterning that appear to be distinctly different from those of *positive* collective behavior of the protestive, rebellious, revolutionary, and withdrawal varieties. The problem for consideration here has to do with the statement of an interpretive frame, largely in terms of social psychology, which will explain the emergence and patterning of these latter movements.

One is not without guides in this field. An objective approach may be noted that points to some cultural or institutional or groupal factor at work, thus accounting for the appearance of the movement.² This interpretation is largely in terms of social change which has brought social disorganization in its wake. Society is regarded as a relatively closed system of elements intimately inter-related with one another, each part being understood only in relation to the other parts. Its elements change under the influence of factors both within or without the structure of the system. Social disorganization is that situation-

¹ This classification is given in detail in P. Meadows, "Movements of Social Withdrawal," *Sociology and Social Research*, forthcoming issue.

² C. A. Ellwood, *Cultural Evolution*, 1927, pp. 48-49; C. H. Cooley, R. C. Angell, L. J. Carr, *Introductory Sociology*, 1933, p. 407; E. D. Myers, "Some Effects of Internal-Psychic Conflicts on the Rise of Internal Institutional Secession," Northwestern University master's thesis, 1923; E. Freeman, *Social Psychology*, 1936, pp. 378-86; S. A. Queen, W. B. Bodenhafer, and E. B. Harper, *Social Organization and Disorganization*, 1935, pp. 262-93.

sequence in which the accompanying disequilibrium is such that atypical rather than uniform ways, deinstitutionalization rather than institutionalization, disintegration rather than integration of behavior, unadjustment or maladjustment rather than adjustment prevail. Disorganization is change which has failed to bring balance, satisfaction, harmony. Instead, it is an adjustmental process which has brought crisis.

The subjective approach to social movements explains their emergence and patterning in terms of substratic or attitude-value factors in human personality. There are two foci of attention: (1) the *rational*-group and (2) the *irrational*-group aspects.³ From the standpoint of the first, the social movement is a revolt against an irrational social environment. From the standpoint of the second, the movement is an emotional upsurge from the "subconscious," the instinctive, the unreasoning psyche.

It is not difficult to demonstrate common elements in these various views. They are not mutually exclusive so much as they are selective and specialized. They contain an irreducible minimum which not only warrants attention but also easily serves as the initial act of judgment in any further study of social movements. Objectively, the basis of social movements is thought to be in the failure of an institutional system (the church, the state, business, industry, and so forth) or of a culture (capitalism, ecclesiasticism, imperialism, and so forth) at a time of potential economic and ideational advance. Subjectively, the social movement is regarded as an aggression against a societal imbalance which has brought frustration to large numbers

³ This terminology is based on the following classification of social psychological interpretations of collective behavior: A. approach through the emotional-group aspects of behavior: Tarde, Durkheim, LeBon; B. approach through the irrational-individual aspects of behavior: Freud, Martin, Gumplowicz; C. approach through the individual-environment aspects of behavior: Ross, Bogardus, Bernard.

of personalities. Throughout, personality in some or all of its phases is regarded as the key to the understanding of social movements.

The significant word is "crisis": this is the behavioral basis of social movements. All the foregoing theories tend very largely to be along the lines of a crisis theory of action: equilibrium — tensions — anticipatory responses; or, manipulation or action—consummatory response.⁴ The crisis represents a lack of or in the "normal" means-ends structures of adjustment.⁵ From the point of view of society, such a situation obtains when the customary configurations of relationships (e.g., political institutions), by which certain ends (goals or ultimate standards) are realized, have become inflexible, or have disappeared, or are in the process of doing so.⁶ From the point of view of personality, a situation is critical when the customary or expected patterns no longer contain (or are in danger of losing) means which have varying degrees of adequacy for the satisfaction of ends. A critical situation is, therefore, one which involves either (1) the restriction of means or the enlargement of ends, or (2) the appearance of ends no longer appropriate to existing means or norms.

There are two methods, complementary rather than exclusive, of explaining the emergence and nature of crisis. Culturally, whether in terms of institutional or psychosocial factors, crisis is a rupture of routine.⁷ There are three major type-maladjustments of the social ritual: precipitate, cumulative, and voluntary group.⁸ The first in-

⁴ K. Young, ed., *Social Attitudes*, 1931, pp. 100-34; also his *Personality and Problems of Adjustment*, 1940, Chapter IV.

⁵ T. Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, 1937, Chapter II: "The Theory of Action."

⁶ Hence, "economic" or "family" or "religious" or "international" or "aesthetic" crises. In other words, a situation is being evaluated in terms of some "frame of reference." Cf. M. Sherif, *The Psychology of Social Norms*, 1936, p. 43; or H. Cantor, *The Psychology of Social Movements*, 1941, p. 49.

⁷ E. Mayo, "Routine Interaction and the Problem of Collaboration," *American Sociological Review*, 4:335-40, 1939.

⁸ M. A. Elliott and F. E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization*, 1933, pp. 34-36; F. Znaniecki, in K. Young, *Social Attitudes*, pp. 265-89.

cludes deaths of leaders, accidents, famines, and the like; the second, institutional failures; and the third, unintended fortuitous consequences flowing from voluntary group action. These changes are socially disorganizing because they reveal an inadequacy of means available to persons or groups for the realization of their ends. It is in this soil of unadjustment that the "climate of opinion" brings to life attitude-value patterns which blossom as social inventions designed to secure readjustment. Disorganization may become, it seems, the flowering earth of progress.

In the social psychological sense, crisis arises out of the psychosocial experience of the person. Changing means and changing ends both are empirical and projective adjustments of personality to life-situations.⁹ A *unitas multiplex*, the individual is an experiencing whole; his interrelationships with his environment may be thought of as a configurative process capable of being variously described.¹⁰ Thus, Tolman thinks of it as the selection of routes and means-objects to reach goal-objects. Gestalt psychologists account for it by the "systematic interconnections" of experience. Lewin uses an equilibrium analysis in which the organism is seen as a member of a field of forces—objects with varying "valences" for the organism. McDougall seeks to relate the "energy manifestations" of the organism to "goals" toward which activity is directed and the attainment of which sees the termination of the activity.

Another approach, the most useful of the group, conceptualizes crisis behavior in terms of "the act cycle."¹¹

⁹ Cf. G. Murphy, "Personality and Social Adjustments," *Social Forces*, 15:472-76.

¹⁰ The following references are to: E. C. Tolman, *Purposive Behavior in Animals and Men*, 1932; K. Koffka, *Principles of Gestalt Psychology*, 1935; K. Lewin, *The Dynamic Theory of Personality*, 1935; W. McDougall, "Hormic Psychology," in C. Murchison, ed., *Psychologies of 1930*, pp. 3-35.

¹¹ The social theory of the act has been most completely developed by G. H. Mead, *The Philosophy of the Act*, 1938.

The organism, in constant commerce with his environment, experiences tensions, either internally or externally induced. Tensions on whatever level—chemical, physical, psychic, psychosocial, social—are ordinarily released through socially patterned responses. This canalization of behavior is the function of culture, conceived of as a body of human adjustment techniques facilitating consummatory behavior and social organization. Frequently, however, reactions to the tensional situation (crisis) are not mediated by culturalized behavior patterns, which may be lacking or inadequate. This condition is especially characteristic of (1) rapid societal change, (2) obsolescence in institutional systems, (3) deviate or atypical personalities, and (4) marginal community structures. The social movement, if positive, is a collective endeavor to solve the frustrating situation by mobilizing group resources for the invention or enhancement of cultural means.

Strategically significant in this structuralization of protest are the highly sensitive persons who feel the crisis more keenly than the others involved. They constitute the leadership group. Their function in the movement is to mediate the crisis (1) by defining it, (2) by formulating action-patterns intended to relieve the tension, (3) thus leading to consummatory behavior.¹² Leadership is not a generic trait, but it is specific with the situation, growing out of the polarization of attention on the situational definition and action-pattern.

The variability of social movements is traceable to the phenomena of the blocked behavior. Whatever creates tensions and brings frustrations is the behavioral basis of social movements. Thus, critically important are those persons (the leadership group) who under the spur of the thwarting situation, by means of imagination and reason-

¹² L. L. Bernard, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, 1936, p. 519.

ing, invent new patterns of action. Equally important are effective mobilization and utilization of social control processes and techniques¹³ which (1) focus attention on, (2) deepen the emotional involvement in, (3) point the way out of, and (4) overcome the crisis brought on by obstructive social constants or failing social means or impacting new ends or challenging new norms. In any case, the direction which the movement takes, the pattern which it assumes, the techniques which it exploits—all are functions basically of the particular block or thwart—whether inorganic, physicosocial, biosocial, psychosocial, or collective institutional—which may be felt, communicated, and combated in the social movement.

¹³ A suggested reclassification of techniques operative in social movements appears in P. Meadows, "The Situational Dialectic of Revolution," *Social Forces*, 20: 393-94, 1942.

ISOLATION IN ASSOCIATION*

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● In every case of personality unadjustment,¹ regardless of its seriousness, the person involved is surrounded, for a time at least, by an area of isolation. The college girl, for example, whose family objected vociferously to her favorite sister's marriage and forbade the mention of the sister's name was thus isolated in her associations in the home, pleasant though their associations were on the whole. This isolation which occurs in the midst of face-to-face interaction may be called *isolation in association*. This isolation in association occurs when some members of a group have withdrawn from the person or when the person has withdrawn from some members of the group because the person has a negative value to the group or the group has a negative value in the eyes of the person.

This type of isolation may occur when the person and certain members of the group of which he is a part are not on speaking terms. This isolation is felt most keenly when the person and the members of his family or his former friends do not communicate with each other verbally. Contact in the home or in the classroom or in the social club may be as frequent and as physically close as formerly, but no conversation occurs. Not only is the person shut off from the stimulation which comes from communication with others but he faces a feeling of frustration.

When our family fights as we do every time any two members start an argument, for the whole family takes sides, half of us do not speak to the

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¹ By an unadjusted person is meant one who in a specific set of situations has temporarily not achieved a balance satisfactory either to himself or to the group.

others for days or even talk to one member of the family in the presence of those on the other side of the argument. Home is surely not a pleasant place to be at those times and I frequently think of running away.

I'd rather students and faculty and my family would scold me than ignore me entirely as some of them do when I have done things they do not like. Anything is better than being made to feel that the group or individuals do not want me to talk with them.

Such comments made by college students are indicative of the attitudes of those who are shut off from the renewal of personality which comes from pleasant communication with associates. In spite of the fact that there may be specific members of the group with whom a person may not wish to communicate, his personality is cramped when the other persons take the initiative in refusing to talk. Even those persons whom the individual does not like and whom he may snub at times create a feeling of isolation on the part of the one who "cold-shouldered" them when they cease communicating with him.

A wall of isolation surrounds the individual when there are certain areas of thought and behavior which must be avoided in discussion with members of the group, even though they may discuss other topics pleasantly. To be sure, all persons have areas of silence which they maintain in their relations with others. The "situation selves" of which Eubank² speaks are determined by the expressed interests and ideas which are evidenced in contacts between the person and particular individuals or groups. A person discusses the subjects which are in favor with the individuals with whom he is associating at the time or which will convert the persons or enhance his status in the association. But these reserve areas are set off by the person because he so desires. He has built the wall of isolation himself and does not feel inhibited by it; the wall merely protects his personality.

² Earle E. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology* (New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1932).

When the isolation is forced upon a person by the violent opposition which arises whenever certain subjects are mentioned, the person then feels that his freedom is curtailed and his desires curbed. Some students cannot discuss friends, school subjects, details of parties attended, books read, or movies they have seen. Nor may they mention persons, organizations, and ideas which family or friends dislike for economic, religious, political, or personal reasons. Such a person is constantly aware of his partial isolation.

In some instances the person is keenly aware of being isolated from some of those with whom he associates because his motives are not understood by the group or by other persons with whom he has close contact—or at least the person thinks his motives are not understood. One's reasons for performing an act or expressing an idea are a vital part of his "expanded personality." Each person knows or thinks he knows—usually the latter—his specific and his general aims in specific situations. Unless he had definitely determined to deceive others, he expects them to see and appreciate his motives.

The shy person who is accused of disliking others or of snubbing them when possibly he is painfully afraid of new acquaintances and yet anxious for friends, the student or employee who is suspected of "apple-polishing" when motivated by a feeling of interest or of kindliness to help or be friendly with a teacher or an employer, the person who is accused of having a mean disposition when he follows a disagreeable course through a sense of duty, or the one who is suspected of having ulterior motives when he helps friends or family out of a feeling of sympathy—all such persons are sensitive to the isolation which surrounds them in part of their contacts and develop a temporary sense of failure.

Then there is the person who is not appreciated by others in specific activities or relationships. Each person

has a desire for an acceptable status in the eyes of others as well as in his own eyes. When he has worked for certain honors and then finds them going to others less deserving than he, when he is ignored by those to whom he had offered service or friendship, when his obvious talents are overlooked, or when those with whom he lives seem to find only flaws in his behavior or in other aspects of his personality, he feels isolated from those who seem unappreciative of him and his efforts. He may not pity himself, but merely be aware of isolation. If he has a good imagination, he may even feel isolated from some of those who seem to appreciate him and accord him a high status, for he may feel that they are deceived by appearances for the time being and will shortly do as others have done and give him a lower status or that they are flattering him in order to conceal their real opinion of him. Enforced isolation in association frequently results in "inferiority complexes" and their resulting compensations. Personality unadjustments may become severe enough in such circumstances to be classed as maladjustment. The person who has even a slight tendency toward a persecution complex will feel an area of isolation, due to what he considers lack of appreciation, when there is really much appreciation of him or of his talents on the part of his associates.

This feeling of isolation in association hampers the person's relations with those from whom he is not isolated and lessens his satisfactions with the world in which he lives and with his accomplishments therein. The person who is faced with the psychological isolation which comes from being *in* but not *of* a group of persons with whom he has slight acquaintance may exert himself to satisfy his desire to be part of the group; the person who experiences isolation in association with those who are important to him socially or emotionally is usually skeptical about encouraging contacts with new groups in an intimate fash-

ion, though he may occasionally replace old associations with new in a satisfactory manner. He is less efficient, as the effect of past isolating experiences influences his present and future behavior.

From the standpoint of the counselor or of the social worker who would guide persons in periods of unadjustment, such a feeling of isolation of association should be considered more serious than the antisocial acts which might have merited the disapproval of society or even of the counselor and of the social worker. To be adjusted, an individual must have a "we-feeling" of belonging to groups to an extent which is satisfactory to him. Behavior and attitudes on his part which lead others to shun him or to ignore him must be shown him in their true functional relationship; his associates have to be educated to appreciate his abilities or his needs. The type and degree of isolation surrounding a person must needs be of his own choosing rather than forced upon him by others if he is to feel free rather than frustrated.

FAMILY ORGANIZATION IN A SPANISH-AMERICAN CULTURE AREA*

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● The role of the family has generally been recognized as one of major importance in the social organization of the Spanish-Americans in the Southwest. This paper deals with the role of the family in the social organization of eight selected Spanish-American villages and hamlets in Dona Ana County, New Mexico. Dona Ana County is located in the southern part of the state. Nearly two thirds of the population is estimated to consist of Spanish-Americans. It is a predominantly rural county with agriculture restricted to a narrow strip of irrigated land along the Rio Grande. The only urban center is Las Cruces, a city of approximately 8,500 people. Other population centers include one incorporated village, ten unincorporated villages, and fifteen hamlets. All these centers, with the exception of one small hamlet, are located in or at the edge of the irrigated area. Nearly half of the villages and hamlets have little or no surrounding open-country population. It is with family organization in eight of the centers in the last group that this paper is concerned.¹ No attempt is made to draw conclusions or to make generalizations beyond the area included in the study.

The family assumes such great importance in the villages and hamlets because of the minor importance or absence of other groups. The neighborhood and the com-

* This paper is a revision of a section of the writer's doctoral dissertation on "Rural Social Organization in a Spanish-American Culture Area," accepted by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin in January, 1941, as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

¹ Approximately 90 per cent of the people in the eight centers combined consist of Spanish-Americans.

munity as social groups do not play a very important part in the social structure of Dona Ana County. It is the villages and hamlets that constitute the most numerous types of locality groups. Many of these centers, however, do not serve to create a consciousness of local unity except on a geographical basis.

The fact that locality groups, such as the neighborhood, the community, and to some extent the village and hamlet, have not been groups around which the Spanish-Americans have become conscious of local unity is not due to a shifting of emphasis from locality to interests. Such has often been the case in other parts of the United States,² but there has not been enough of such a shift among the Spanish-Americans to account for the absence of local consciousness in the various types of locality groups. There are no organized special-interest groups in any of the eight centers studied. The only organized group activity has been in connection with the church, and this has not developed sufficiently to make for special-interest groups. There are no educational, recreational, economic, or political organizations in the centers, and the residents belong to none outside the centers. Sociability and recreational activities through social organizations are quite limited.

It is because of the lack of special-interest groups as well as the lack of locality-group consciousness that the family assumes such a prominent place. This is evident in all eight centers studied. The family, together with the interactional behavior growing out of family life, constitutes the most important single factor in the social organization of the centers.

Several phases of family interaction in the Spanish-American villages and hamlets are discussed in the follow-

² J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), pp. 162-63.

ing paragraphs. Some of them are related to other factors in the social organization of the centers. Together they show the importance of family organization in the social structure as a whole.

Family interrelationships. A commonly accepted statement, often made, is that a large proportion of the inhabitants of Spanish-American villages and hamlets are related to one another. Data obtained in the eight selected villages and hamlets indicate that this is the case. The only measure of relationship which was obtained was certain degrees of relationship between the heads of households. These relationships were of three kinds only, namely, parent-child, sibling, and in-law. In a good many instances this procedure has necessitated the exclusion of relationships which, strictly speaking, are as close as some of those included. For example, the wife of a head of a household might be the sister-in-law of the head of another household. Yet such and similar relationships were not included because it was felt that accurate and complete data had not been obtained. The degrees of relationship that have been included, however, do give some measure of the extent to which the households in the various centers are inter-related.

Of the Spanish-American household heads, nearly three fourths were related to some other head on the basis of the degrees of relationship considered. The household heads bearing some degree of relationship to other heads were on the average related to more than two other heads. Some variation was found among the different centers, but in all instances family interrelationships were common. This large amount of family interrelationship plays a prominent part in the social organization of the Spanish-American centers. In the first place, such interrelationships tend to increase family solidarity; secondly, they serve as a force to keep a large proportion of the population in the

centers; and, finally, sociability in the centers is closely related to family interrelationships. It is the first of these three results of family interrelationships that is the most important and that will be considered here.

There is considerable evidence of family solidarity in the villages and hamlets. One line of evidence is the tendency of a large proportion of the children who have left the household of their parents to continue residence in the centers. This tendency is in part due to reluctance to move any great distance from other family members. Family ties are strong, and the group solidarity which has developed within a family is not disrupted easily. There is further evidence of this in that, in some of the families, a married son or daughter has never left home but lives with his or her spouse at home with the parents. In other instances, a widowed, divorced, or separated son or daughter has returned home and lives with his or her parents instead of in a separate household.

Not only do a large proportion of the children who marry continue to reside in the centers, but there is also a widespread tendency to establish residence in close proximity to the parents. A large number of the households live in dwellings constructed on the family lot. In these cases, when a child marries and decides to remain in the center, a new dwelling is constructed right next to the one or ones already there. Any subsequent structures are then built adjacent to these dwellings. This practice varies somewhat for the different centers, but it is a common practice and is evidence of a high degree of family solidarity.

The existing family solidarity has tended to make the family the center of cooperative effort in the villages and hamlets. There is little organized cooperation outside the related family groups. This situation is partly the result of the mode of living in these centers. The absence of public facilities, such as fire protection and sewage disposal, is a

factor in limiting cooperation. Irrigation is no longer a cooperative enterprise on the part of the inhabitants. On the other hand, family solidarity has furthered cooperative efforts within the family groups. Family ties have tended to center attention on the needs and interests of the family and not on those outside the family circle.

The presence of a high degree of family solidarity with its accompanying cooperative efforts does not mean that there is no conflict within the family group. Such conflict continually appears, but it is an intermittent and not a continuous process. Petty jealousies often exist and may develop into more serious forms of conflict, but these forms of conflict stay within the family group and tend to disappear in the event of a crisis.

The family and social control. At no point does the importance of the family, among the Spanish-Americans, appear to be greater than with respect to its relation to social control. It is largely through the family that social control is manifested, primarily because other channels of social control, with the exception of the church, do not exist to a great degree. Social control is usually thought of as being either informal or formal. The first form of social control is illustrated by the mores, religious convictions, and public opinion, and the latter form by the legal and administrative devices laid down by the state or those developed by a group to control its own members.³ Now, in the Spanish-American villages and hamlets studied, there is very little formal social control of a local nature. There is no village government. The only form of local government is the precinct in which the centers are located, and the only officials of this governmental unit are the constable and the justice of the peace. No effort is made at controlling the behavior of the residents of the

³ Kimball Young, *An Introductory Sociology* (New York: American Book Company, 1934), pp. 523-24.

centers except for the purpose of maintaining peaceful relations. Because of the isolation of the centers and because of the status of the people living in these centers, formal control by the state, aside from the local governmental machinery, is not felt to any appreciable degree in the centers except insofar as maintenance of peace is concerned. Since there are no organizations in the centers, formal control of the second type mentioned above is also absent. This has resulted in the restriction of social control largely to informal forms. Informal social control is in part exercised through the influence of the church, but it has manifested itself largely through the moral codes, which in turn have operated mostly through the family.⁴

The role of the family in social control in the Spanish-American villages and hamlets assumes additional importance because of the presence of groups of related families that take on many of the characteristics of the "great family." The members of the larger family group to a considerable extent follow the leadership of some one member of the family, and through the decisions of this leader or head control is exercised over the behavior of the rank and file of the group. Patriarchal control is the rule, but there are also instances of matriarchal control. Under either arrangement, the importance of the old people is continually recognized. The terms *viejo* and *vieja*, meaning "old man" and "old woman," are used with great frequency and indicate a reverence for the elders.

Social control through the family, perhaps, finds its most clear-cut expression in political activity. Interest in political matters is closely related to the problem of political control. Political leaders endeavor to line up the voters in each precinct. This, to a large extent, is possible with

⁴ Social control through the church has also directly strengthened family control. The church has given sanction to the mores that have already become rooted in the culture of the group. One of the things most emphasized by the church has been the importance of the family.

the support of key individuals in each precinct who are in a position to deliver a block of votes. These key individuals may be able to swing votes because of their prominence in a rural center or in a precinct, but the practice is enhanced by family solidarity and by the family control exercised by the leader of a group of interrelated families. The members of the larger family group look to their leader or head for guidance in political activity as well as in other matters. Furthermore, the prominence of such family leaders may insure control of votes outside the family group, even though it is the control of the votes of the family that is the most important.

The system of political control in the larger family group is related to the old *patron-peon* complex which for many years prevailed in New Mexico and of which certain manifestations still exist. The Spanish-American peon of the past looked to his patron when in need. The earlier agricultural economy favored the patron-peon complex, but changes in the economic life of the Southwest in recent decades have destroyed the basis for the continuance of such a relationship. The majority of the Spanish-Americans in the small villages and hamlets no longer have a land-owning patron who has their interests at heart and who can provide aid in times of need. Consequently, it has been necessary to seek help elsewhere. That help has been found, at least in part, as a result of the political influence exercised through the leaders of the larger family groups. These leaders cannot strictly be called *patrones*, although an arrangement has been set up whereby they have taken over many of the functions of the earlier *patrones*. Such an arrangement has been enhanced by the creation of existing so-called emergency relief and social welfare agencies, since, unfortunately, these agencies do not always operate in an impartial manner.

From the above discussion it will be seen that the family is very definitely an institution through which social control is imposed on its members. The situation is gradually becoming more complicated, however, because the family is a dynamic institution and changes are taking place which are making problems of social control within the family increasingly difficult. These changes are discussed in the following section.

Changing aspects of family life. While the Spanish-American villages and hamlets studied are relatively isolated, this isolation is breaking down. In spite of the limited means of transportation and communication, contacts with the outside have multiplied. The necessity of going outside the centers for many services, contact with the outside through the schools, recreational and sociability activities, and work opportunities have made it impossible for cultural isolation to continue. As a result of the breakdown of isolation and the increase in social contacts, new ideas and attitudes have found their way into the centers. These new ideas and attitudes have affected family life. The attitudes of the young people have been modified, and there is less satisfaction on their part at the prospect of continued residence in the centers than formerly was the case. The lack of opportunity to satisfy new wants and desires which have been created through education and increased contacts in general has resulted in a feeling of dissatisfaction on the part of many children and young people. The family is still important to the young people because they have been brought up in an atmosphere of familism, but there is a suspicion on their part that family ties do not offer the advantages they once did.

The social changes that have taken place have tended to place the parents in a position where they have less control over their children than was the case in the past. It is a problem of conflict of the ideas and attitudes

received from increased outside contacts with those that have prevailed in the home. Family mores are no longer so binding as they once were, and, as a consequence, the families are less highly integrated.

The breakdown of the family mores growing out of social change related to family organization has been an important factor in fostering the disintegrative process which is evident in most of the centers. Family solidarity is decreasing. Lack of parental control and dissatisfaction with prevailing conditions have developed too rapidly for adaptation to take place, and disintegration has started. The chief reason that family solidarity has remained as strong as it has and that more people, especially young people, have not left the centers is the fact that opportunities do not seem to present themselves elsewhere. The family therefore still occupies an important role in the social organization of the eight selected Spanish-American villages and hamlets in spite of the effect of recent social change.

THE CHINESE AND THE QUOTA

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

The University of Southern California

● The rising tide of public opinion that favors putting the Chinese on what is popularly called the Quota Law calls for examination. Strictly speaking the United States has been operating since 1929 under a national origins type of quota law. Under this national origins plan various countries are assigned quotas, if their people are "eligible to citizenship." China is among the countries that are omitted from the Quota.

To give the Chinese a quota under the national origins procedure would mean that people from China might be admitted for permanent residence in the United States up to about 105 a year, but that such persons would be carefully selected. Each one would have to qualify by meeting all the thirty tests or more which any European or African must face if he would secure entry to establish a more permanent residence in the United States.

Despite the inclinations of some people to ignore or to suppress any proposal to include the Chinese in the national origins procedure, there are increasing numbers of citizens who believe that the United States must sooner or later face this question fairly if the United States is to play a more helpful role in a new world order. Other people who recognize the moral force behind the present movement to treat the Chinese as we treat Europeans and Africans are urging that the question be postponed until the war is ended. They argue that neither the Congress nor the general public should be distracted from concentration of its attention on winning the war.

The last-mentioned argument has been answered by Robert M. MacIver of Columbia University in his latest

book.¹ In discussing the importance of preparing for peace now, Professor MacIver points out that we should not miss our great opportunity, namely, to plan for peace "when national unity is heightened," "when our private concerns are subordinated" or held in abeyance, and when we are most ready for achieving larger purposes.² Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has likewise expressed himself in his message on July 7, 1943, to the United Nations: "Differences of opinion, if any, can in no time be better dissolved than when we are fighting a war shoulder to shoulder." It will be too late, if we wait until the war is concluded, for "the bells of peace will be the signal for our return to our narrower ways, to our heterogeneous groups, to all dividing interests."³ It will be too late if we wait until the war is over and our sense of a common goal is again dissipated, and until we want to forget the confused strife and once more "go about 'our own affairs.'"⁴ It would seem that these points apply directly to a consideration of the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws. Any international wrongs that can be righted now will enable people to carry on the war effort with a clearer conscience and hence with more vigor.⁵ In other words, as Congressman W. H. Judd in discussing the repeal says, "It is never too early to begin to do justice."

Someone has counted the various exclusion laws against the Chinese, passed either by the Congress of the United States or by the states, and reports that they total at least fourteen. "These laws are fourteen direct insults to our allies."⁶ These were passed in what was considered self-

¹ Robert M. MacIver, *Toward an Abiding Peace* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943).

² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁵ Cf. E. S. Bogardus, "Culture and War," *Sociology and Social Research*, 27:303ff.

⁶ Richard J. Walsh, "Repeal Exclusion Laws Now," *Asia and the Americas*, 43:322, June, 1943.

defense against a flood of low-grade immigration from China. But these dangers in no wise exist today if the repeal of the exclusion laws be accompanied by the inclusion of China in our present national origins procedure. Such an inclusion would limit immigration from China to only 105 a year, not low-level Chinese but carefully selected Chinese. Those who would be admitted would have to leap the thirty or more hurdles that immigrants from other countries must jump.

Subject to such limitations, the immigrants from China would constitute no labor problem. It is difficult to see how a threat in any direction would be presented. On the other hand, a small number of selected Chinese immigrants, not exceeding about 1,050 in a decade, could offer special contributions to life and culture in the United States.

Moreover, to give the Chinese a quota would not increase the total immigration to the United States. Our present national immigration policy limits the total annual immigration to 150,000. This figure would not be raised or affected by admitting the Chinese to a quota. All immigration quotas would continue to be figured, as now, upon a percentage basis of the 150,000, excepting in the case of those countries eligible only to a minimum of 100.

Stating briefly the historical background of the issue, the United States negotiated the Burlingame Treaty with China in 1868 to the effect that there should be free and voluntary immigration between China and the United States. In 1880 another treaty was made giving the United States the right to limit or to suspend but not to prohibit immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States. In 1882 Congress passed a law suspending immigration for ten years. This law was renewed in 1892, and ten years later (1902) a law was passed which prohibited this immigration indefinitely (against the Treaty of 1880). In 1924 the Chinese were omitted from the Quota Law. It might

be added that in 1882 the United States enacted a law specifically making the Chinese (mentioning them by name) ineligible to citizenship.

The proposal to place Chinese on a quota basis would put the United States in fairer light before the largest and oldest nation of Asia. It would indicate that the American way includes a fair international outlook, a desire to treat the Chinese as persons equal to immigrants from Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, and other European countries, and a desire to eradicate unjust discrimination at a vital point in our international dealings. Such action on the part of the United States would definitely be a method of rendering justice, and would demonstrate that we wish to implement our claim to being a "Good Neighbor" to our leading Oriental ally by deed as well as by word.

The United States has made a good beginning by her joint action with Great Britain in 1942 in abolishing extra-territoriality rights in China. This action needs to be supplemented by treaty negotiations looking toward the improved treatment of Chinese immigrants to the United States.

To put China on a quota basis would go a little way toward correcting an old wrong. It would remove the cause of what will be an international sore point of increasing proportions as China develops her national life and takes her place among the nations of the world.

To give China a quota would do something to offset the propaganda, especially the Japanese propaganda in India, Burma, and among all colored races in Asia, that the United States does not practice race equality. It would help stop the broadcasts to China that "while the white people are free to live in China, the Chinese cannot reside permanently in the United States," and "The Chungking government cannot understand why the United States fears the immigration of a small number of Chinese into

that country."⁷ Moreover, it would relieve Chinese minds of a deep-seated but usually unexpressed resentment against the United States. After stating that "exclusion discriminates in a manner that is offensive to the racial and national dignity of the group excluded," an eminent Chinese scholar points out that exclusion is especially offensive when it is based on the principle of ineligibility to citizenship and on "the obnoxious implication that the people excluded are biologically inferior."⁸ Does our exclusion principle go too far when it would forbid to per-Chiang Kai-shek?

manent residence a person as well qualified as Madame

Some persons object to taking this action because of the legal difficulties involved. Certain state laws would need to be repealed and Congressional action also would be required. It is said that to get all this done is almost insuperable by virtue of our slow democratic processes. Such an argument is at once superficial if we really want to do something important. Moreover, it reflects adversely upon our democratic processes.

Others object to putting the Chinese on a minimum quota because the procedure "would give the race-baiters and race-haters full reign to promote doctrines of race discrimination and ill-will." This argument also suggests a weakness of democratic ways. It cannot be accepted without admitting that a large majority in a democracy must openly allow themselves to be victimized by a few who unwittingly have adopted Hitler's "superior race" tactics. To say that the United States cannot protect itself against those few who would stir up race violence against minority groups is to say that democracy is to that extent a failure.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁸ Tso-Chien Shen, *What "Chinese Exclusion" Really Means*, China Institute In America, 1942, p. 49.

Americans who profess loyalty to democratic principles can still speak in behalf of justice between peoples, even between themselves and their allies. They do not have to give in to the threat that if they propose to give the Chinese a quota they will "loose the flood gates of calumny" against so-called "inferior peoples." Surely Americans do not need to keep silent on matters of racial fair play because demagogues might seize the opportunity "to further their own political ambitions by vicious rabble-rousing in the name of white supremacy."⁹

It is true that to admit Chinese immigrants means that the United States would have next to face the question of giving these immigrants the same opportunity to become naturalized as is accorded other nationals. Of course this question will have to be faced too, but these are days that call for national courage and international justice if the requirements of national fair play in a new world order are to be taken seriously. They call for justice and fair play in our dealings with all the peoples of the Orient if the role of the United States in international affairs is to gain the respect that will be needed to prevent a World War III. We cannot afford to wait until some fair day when we can treat all Oriental peoples on a just basis as far as our immigration and naturalization laws are concerned. Realistically, now is the time to make needed adjustments as far as China is concerned. Later, the situation regarding other countries may be considered. We rarely attain international justice by a single bound, but step by step.

Cuba has recently made an interesting international move. On November 12, 1942, she concluded a Treaty of Amity with China. According to Article V, it is agreed that "the nationals of each of the High Contracting Parties shall be at liberty to enter or leave the territory of

⁹ *The Christian Century*, June 9, 1943, p. 687.

the other under the same conditions as the nationals of other countries." It is evident that this type of agreement is just and makes for international good will. It sets an example to be considered by other nations. At least the question of putting China on a quota basis now is "a challenge to American statesmanship." It involves China's belief that she is entitled to be placed on an equal footing with Europeans and Africans.

POSTWAR TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY

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● We believe there is a new day ahead for sociology despite all the weaknesses in methodology and research in the past. We say this because we feel that sociology, which is one of the newer social sciences, is becoming more and more useful to mankind each generation, not only to the college student but to the average layman.

What will this postwar teaching of sociology be like? Will it be more applied, more theoretical, less appealing to college students, even in an engineering school? Will there be greater or less specialization in the way of research and in the establishment of courses?

To answer these questions, let us see if we can picture the type of student that will be in our universities and colleges, the type of instructional equipment on hand, the amount of instructional equipment that the instructors will convince the heads of departments that they will need and use, and the training of those instructors who will be in charge of the teaching and direction of research in sociology.

We shall have at least two types of students—the student who has been in the armed services and the student who has not been in the armed services. The first type of student will be one that has had actual experience with many of the affairs of life. This type of student concerns the writer a great deal, for this student will be one who can appreciate the real values of sociology. He will be a student who will no longer be satisfied with a research study about a social problem made ten years ago by a professor in order that he might obtain a Ph.D. degree. This student will want to get out of the classroom and make a study of the

social problems that interest him. He will not be satisfied to hand in a "cooperative" term paper from the ancient library materials which have been assigned by the professor in the course. His term report will have to be formulated around an actual community situation. There will be no formula, such as he may find in a physical science, for the solution of a social problem. Neither will he be interested in sitting in the classroom and listening to a "reform sermon" and then be required to pass a "true-false" examination about it. These students will know what content of the course is valid and what is mere entertainment materials. It seems to me to be a mistake if we as professors of sociology expect these returned young men and women to go before our classes and tell of their war experiences. The novelty of this procedure, if it is used, will soon wear off. It should not be used in the first place, in my estimation, for these students will expect us to teach them more useful things than they have ever expected in the past.

What shall we need to do? Perhaps we can enrich our classroom instruction with new kinds of visual aids such as recent maps, charts, graphs, and films. All of these visual aids need to be representative of the culture of many of our local cities, towns, and villages. We should take our students on organized community field surveys. Let them have a helping hand in the construction of films, charts, and maps. We need to teach college students more and more how to appreciate America, a thing which we have failed to do in the past in social studies in high school and in colleges. If we start with an appreciation and an understanding of American culture, we shall be more likely to teach students how to appreciate the culture of other nations besides the United States.

Research needs to be increased. All classroom instruction needs to be revitalized by more and better research. Instead of taking the "warmed-over victuals," meaning

some other professor's research findings, we shall need to get out of the classroom and out of the office and do our own research. We shall need to have both time and money to follow the suggested research program; but we shall have to prove to the students that we can do a worth-while job ourselves. We shall also want to train more graduate students in the art of research and not be content with an assistant instructor who is paid to read some of our periodic tests and give a few paper lectures. We do not mean that sociologists will need to be "globe trotters," chasing around the country looking for a past specimen of mankind to see whether there is any connection between certain races, relative to their marriage vows et cetera. However, sociologists will need to travel more after the war and to renew many of their interests in community life. Is it not interesting that we sociologists teach and talk about "culture," which means of course the cultivation of man's constructive living, and yet we do not cultivate our own living? Travel and further study and research are means whereby the sociologists cultivate their own lives. The sociologist does not have to depend upon Thorndike's "Criteria" (good as it is) for the "goodness" of a city; but he may find out the goodness of many communities himself. Our returning students (those who have gone to the armed services) will not accept the Thorndike "Criteria" alone in speaking of the goodness of a city, for they will want to know for themselves. It is up to sociologists to make ready for them.

Social work must be real. Social work, like sociology, will need to be revitalized by much better research than it is at present. Not only will the professors of the courses need to do active research, but they will need to train college students in the art of useful research, how to study and diagnose a social situation for themselves, instead of committing to memory some of the statistics of a social problem in Boston.

Suggested recommendations summarized. The writer summarizes the postwar needs in the teaching of sociology as follows:

1. Increased emphasis placed upon research by both the instructor and the graduate student.
2. Content of courses revamped and revitalized by the use of visual aids such as films, film strips, maps, charts, etc.
3. Textbooks will need to be less voluminous and to contain more material that relates to living today as well as to living in the past. The textbooks need to be given more life by the use of photographs, charts, and maps.
4. More field work that is well planned and fewer holiday excursions by whole classes. Opportunity to visit welfare institutions, city planning projects, and other institutions such as prisons and mental hospitals.
5. Time will be granted sociology professors in the manner of sabbatical leaves of absence to study in other countries besides the United States. More travel will be expected of sociologists after the war and less office retirement.
6. Classroom lectures by professors may be more limited in number and more and more emphasis placed upon the seminar method of teaching. Freedom of expression on the part of the students needs to be encouraged. This expression is to be based upon students' field work and library materials.
7. Libraries will need to take stock of much of their ancient materials and replace much of their present textbook materials with films, film strips, and current pamphlets, research studies, and periodicals.
8. Publications of a periodical nature, such as the leading journals in sociology and related fields, will need to be completely overhauled. More of the vital questions will be presented and fewer of the excerpts from doctoral theses. Many of the magazines may need to use photographs, charts, and visual material to make their published materials really applied sociology.
9. There will be more emphasis placed upon the sociology of industry. Even engineers will want to know the application of sociology to industry. This will call for a better understanding on the part of the professors and students of the problems other than just technical relative to an industry.

The writer intends no faultfinding with a specific sociologist, criminologist, or social worker. All that he is attempting to do is to try to challenge other sociologists

with the value and purpose of sociology in a new world. He, too, like all other leaders in the social sciences, has felt the challenge of the "Global War" and hopes that after it is over we as sociologists do not have less faith in mankind, but more faith in man's constructive life. To the writer, there is no field of science richer and fuller of constructive, worth-while things than the field of the social sciences. Let us all pull harder on our oars for the good of society, and thus put the teaching of sociology where it should be after the war; but let us begin now with the re-planning of our teaching methods.

PACIFIC COAST SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

University of Washington

Professor Norman S. Hayner spent a portion of the summer in Mexico supplementing previous studies in criminology there with ecological investigations in Mexico City, Oaxaca, and other areas. He obtained materials that throw light on both the spatial and the temporal aspects of ecology.

Brigham Young University

Professor Ariel S. Ballif has recently been doing counseling work at the Central Utah Relocation Center at Topaz, Utah.

The University of Southern California

Professor Carl D. Wells of the George Washington University, whose death occurred in August, received his Ph.D. degree in June, 1931, at The University of Southern California. He was the ninth in a list of thirty-two doctors of philosophy who have received the doctoral degree with sociology as the principal subject. A statement concerning contributions of Dr. Wells will appear in the next issue of *Sociology and Social Research*.

Two new graduate courses are being offered this fall: one a Seminar in Social Reconstruction, to be given by Professor John E. Nordskog, and the other a Seminar in Social Psychology, headed by Professor E. S. Bogardus.

A series of eight monthly meetings is announced for Alpha Kappa Delta, honorary sociology society, for this year on the theme "Social Problems in Wartime," by the new president, Professor Melvin J. Vincent.

University of Redlands

Professor Glen Carlson is representing the public as a member of the Committee of the Wages and Hours Division of the United States Department of Labor, which holds hearings and determines wage rates for various industries. He is also president this year of the Pacific Sociological Society.

SOCIAL WELFARE

THE WPA AND FEDERAL RELIEF POLICY. By DONALD S. HOWARD.
New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1943, pp. 879.

This study of the WPA and Federal Relief Policy may well be characterized as a masterpiece. Starting with the problem of relief and the principles which formerly undergirded relief policies, the author indicates the steps that led to the establishment of the WPA or Works Projects Administration and then makes a thorough analysis of this experiment in American philanthropy. He makes clear that the federal government has not entered or been willing to enter the field of general relief but has recognized its obligation to deal with aspects of the problem considered national in their scope.

The analysis of the WPA includes a discussion of the administrative machinery, types of projects authorized and undertaken, wage policies, earnings, conditions of employment, employment in relation to workers' skills, rules of eligibility, number employed, effectiveness of the work, political influences, adequacy of WPA employment, and other relevant considerations.

In answer to the criticism that "leaning on their shovels" was the sole achievement of the workers, the study calls attention to the construction or improvement of 60,000 miles of roads and streets, the building or rebuilding of 116,000 bridges and viaducts, the construction or repair of 110,000 public buildings including libraries and schools, the building of nearly 600 airplane landing fields, the serving of 575,000,000 school lunches, and almost countless additional services most varied in their nature. Even more could have been done if the undertaking of certain projects had not been prohibited by law.

Political manipulation of the WPA was very largely prevented and assertions to the contrary found to be unsubstantiated. Prejudice against the employment of Negroes was reduced to a minimum, but discriminations could not be avoided largely because of local pressure. The extent to which the workers actually were employable in private industry was left in doubt by the study, although it was also shown that the transference from WPA employment to commercial and industrial jobs was neither simple nor without risks. At no time did the WPA absorb all of the labor force it was designed to serve. In February, 1939, the total number of families in need and having one or more employable members was reported to aggregate 1,330,000.

For the legislator, the social worker, and the sociologist, Part V of the book, entitled "The Broader Issues," is most important. In this section we find a thoroughgoing discussion of the principles and policies that should guide the relief program in days to come. The arguments for and against specified programs, methods of service, and administrative control are well set forth. The discussion, however, depends somewhat on the attitude of the citizens. Is the national interest more important than the separate interests of 3,000 counties and other thousands of communities? Are the differences among states and localities in respect to standards of living, attainable ideals, and habits of life so great that they must be allowed to dominate our relief programs and thereby delay the development of greater uniformity among our people? Furthermore, is the problem of general relief outside the legitimate scope of federal activity? Does the group that wants to return relief to the states and counties hope to avoid taxes and shift the burden to those less able to pay? The evidence given is clearly in favor of a policy that regards the national interest as superior to regional and certainly to petty state and local interests.

In its philosophy and forward look, this volume should be an epoch-making contribution to the literature on social work. It should prove helpful in preventing the reaction that often sets in when political malcontents beat the drums so loudly that sound public opinion cannot be heard.

G.B.M.

YOU AND MARRIAGE. By HELEN MOUGEY JORDAN, Editor. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1942, pp. xv+296.

This book is based on a course, Marriage, given at the Cleveland College, Western Reserve University, by a number of lecturers. The chief value lies in the specialized contributions made by the psychologist, the sociologist, the biologist, the physician, the psychiatrist, the social worker, the nutritionist, and the home economist. The difficulty with such an endeavor is that the material is not fully integrated and the various sections are not of equal quality. However, in this volume little repetition occurs. The outstanding feature is that the material is of practical value to homemakers. It is of special importance to young couples contemplating marriage and homemaking. The lecturers deal with such subjects as: the elements of a satisfying home, the psychological aspects of attraction and the problems of courtship, personality factors, the relation of health and psychosexual adjustment to marriage, the place of religion in the home, money management and feeding the family, pregnancy and birth, heredity, effects of endocrine glands, and the changes in the American family. Marriage counseling is given special attention. Each chapter has a well-selected bibliography.

M.H.N.

TOWARD COMMUNITY UNDERSTANDING. By GORDON W. BLACKWELL.
Prepared for The Commission on Teacher Education. Foreword by Karl
W. Bigelow, Director. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education,
May, 1943, pp. 98.

This pamphlet is the result of research into programs, courses, and other methods that have been developed in the sixteen colleges and universities visited by Dr. Blackwell (research associate in the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina), "to promote an understanding on the part of prospective teachers" of society and more especially of the community. The first chapter is devoted to a discussion of the implications for teacher education of the concept of and elements involved in community understanding. The definition of community which is utilized is that of Lloyd Allen Cook and includes "(a) a population aggregate, (b) inhabiting a contiguous area, (c) possessing a heritage of common experience, (d) having a set of basic service institutions, (e) conscious of its local unity, and (f) able to act as a whole in solving problems involving the public good." Training methods that were found in the colleges and universities visited include comprehensive courses covering a number of related fields pertinent to understanding a community. In Chapter VI will be found the story of two demonstrations of cooperation in community affairs, between the college and the village in one instance and between the college and the county in another. The concluding chapter analyzes the significance of college-community relations and suggests eight criteria for appraising them, and gives some of the ways in which practical experience in the community may effectively stimulate an appreciation of the meaning of community and responsibility for its welfare.

B.A.MCC.

ENGLAND'S ROAD TO SOCIAL SECURITY. By KARL DE SCHWEINITZ.
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943, pp. x+281.

The story of England's struggle for a program of enlightened philanthropy begins with the Statute of Laborers of 1349, which penalized individuals who gave alms to beggars. Such service as was given to the poor was largely supplied by the churches. The first positive step toward a system of public relief was taken in 1531 and was followed by the well-known Elizabethan Poor Laws of 1601. The vicious Law of Settlement was passed in 1662. Shortly thereafter, workhouses (poor houses) came into being. Work relief programs and an allowance in support of wages were attempted later, but were administered by such tiny units of operation that their effects were negative and demoralizing.

A short chapter deals with the experiments made in Hamburg and Munich. The constructive program presented in Scotland by Thomas

Chalmers also receives attention. The poor law revisions of 1834 made some halting advances but maintained the philosophy that dependency was due to moral faults in the individual. A genuine advance was made when in 1869 the Charity Organization Society was formed. The radical economic doctrines that invaded the country also created unrest and paved the way for more effective campaigns against poverty and dependency.

The turn in the road began with the reports of the Royal Commission of 1909. The Minority Report dictated by the Webbs was a scathing denunciation of existing methods. No doubt the progressivism of the Majority Report was largely due to these criticisms. It is this report that suggests the term "Public Assistance" as a substitute for the "Poor Law." The social insurance movement had already begun, and in 1911 Lloyd George secured a law for insurance against sickness and unemployment. The law was subsequently improved, but the prolonged depression after 1920 bankrupted the unemployment insurance fund and necessitated transitional benefits and supplementary aid. Again it became clear that the problem of dependency had not been solved. Accordingly, the Beveridge Commission was created. The report of this Commission is so advanced, if not revolutionary, that its adoption would enable the people of England to come at last, in the words of the author of this book, "to the top of the hill called Clear," whence they can see opening before them the way to freedom with security.

G.B.M.

KAISER WAKES THE DOCTORS. By PAUL DE KUIJP. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943, pp. 158.

Henry J. Kaiser, shipbuilder, states his philosophy in support of mass medicine somewhat as follows: We are building ships, we need well men and women, and we will create medical and hospital facilities to keep our workers well. "Workmen should have the best medical care." They can pay for it; and, when they get it that way, their morale will be increased. Prepaid medicine by teams of doctors is inevitable. It furnishes the only chance "for the common man to pay for his medical care." If the doctors fear socialized medicine, why do they not venture now into prepaid mass medicine?

Dr. Sidney Garfield, who was chosen by Kaiser to carry out the foregoing philosophy, had ideas too. He had experimented in his own way after graduating from medical school, and he believed that prepaid medical care would give the doctors, as well as the common man, a new morale. He believed that there is "something evil about money business between the doctor and the sick man." His plan includes the payment of fifty cents per week per worker, seven cents a day. For this amount Dr.

Garfield gives the thousands of workers in Kaiser's shipyards the best of medical care. The hospital care is limitless; there are no preliminary examinations to rule out those who need medical care most. There must be no profit. No expense must be spared to make the hospital attractive and efficient for everybody.

The Kaiser-Garfield plan not only gives the workers the best medical care but also pays for hospitals and for expansion plans. It goes far beyond the industrial hospitals established by transportation and other construction concerns. It is being expanded to provide low-cost prepaid mass medical care for people in housing projects. Group health associations are envisaged for other urban people, for rural people, for everyone. Government loans may be necessary to build needed hospitals. The American Medical Association may object, but it will have to give up its individualistic notion of the private fee system for "the common man" (a term used by Henry J. Kaiser as well as by Henry A. Wallace). The Kaiser-Garfield procedure is not consumer or subscriber controlled. It is in the hands of the doctors if they will take it; but, if not, then apparently the doctors will unintentionally force state medicine upon themselves, especially in view of the fact that 10,000,000 young people in the armed forces are now subjects of free state medicine and are liking it. E.S.B.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE FAMILY. By ERNEST R. GROVES. Foreword by Albert W. Beaven. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942, pp. 229.

The book is especially significant at this time when so many of our basic institutions are suffering from the impact of war. It is a clear presentation of Dr. Groves' own wholesome, stimulating, and always constructive viewpoint. It offers real help not only to the minister in the Christian churches but also to the student interested both in defining the values of the family and of Christianity in relation to the family and in learning the principles of family counseling.

The volume is divided into two parts: the first, "The Family as an Ally of Christianity," relates the two in concrete fashion, answering many questions, puzzling especially to the student, such as "What was Jesus' attitude toward the family?" and "What is the Christian interpretation of the role of sex in both family relations and personality development?" One of the strongest chapters in the book is the second, devoted to "The Spiritual Function of the Family."

Part II carries the title, "The Church as an Ally of the Family." Here are discussed in comprehensive fashion with concrete illustrations "The Church and Education for Family Life," "The Minister as a Domestic Counselor," "The Roles of the Domestic Counselor," "The Art of Domestic Counseling," and "The Hazards of Domestic Counseling." In

the last two chapters, the principles of counseling set forth would apply with equal validity in any field of counseling. Dr. Groves emphasizes the dangers of classifying people and situations and of dealing with "types" rather than with the concrete individual expressions. He also calls attention to the need for constant study and for care in not being committed to one school of thought and thus shutting out other possible valuable ideas and methods. With wisdom, he points to the need for self-protection by the counseling minister in order that his status and helpfulness as a counselor may not suffer through legal demands that he reveal confidences, or by reason of misrepresentation and gossip. The principles of social case work are understandingly applied to a service in which religious values and religious philosophy provide specific and vital aids in counseling. The bibliography is well chosen, but the dates of the publication of the various references are omitted.

B.A.MCC.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA: ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN HEMISPHERE SOLIDARITY. By A. FABRA RIBAS. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1943, pp. 62.

In his Introduction, Professor Richard F. Behrendt significantly speaks of a change that is coming about in the Americas from "a relationship of one-sided exploitation of Latin America's natural resources by more highly developed (according to the standards of an industrial civilization) foreign elements to a system of inter-American cooperation based upon joint responsibility and mutual benefit." The author points out how since about 1930 a real cooperative movement has appeared in the countries of Latin America, and that this is a very significant aspect of close inter-American relationships—for cooperatives naturally work together for plenty and good will, and hence for peace. He holds that "the cooperative system has the general welfare and the moralization of customs as an object, while the competitive system creates depression and gives rise to struggle." In other words, "cooperation is the economic system of democracy." Although cooperatives are being developed from the top down in Latin America, and although a proper educational base for cooperatives needs to be put into effect, the author feels that cooperatives will go a long way in developing the living conditions of the rank and file of citizens in all these countries. He gives details concerning the progress already made by cooperatives, particularly in what he calls the Bolivarian chain of Institutes of Cooperative Studies, which have been developed in the countries in northern and western South America. The book is well written and expresses great hope for the future of cooperatives and for the contribution they will make in building a common understanding among races and nations—if given an adequate opportunity.

E.S.B.

RACES AND CULTURE

PRINCIPLES OF ANTHROPOLOGY. By ELIOT DISMORE CHAPPLE and CARLETON STEVENS COON. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942, pp. viii+718.

This book is an effort to narrow down the overcomprehensiveness of the term "anthropology," which has long embarrassed writers in that field. The authors think they have found the solution in their attempt to have anthropology recognized as the science of human relations. There may be some awkwardness in getting that new name for anthropology accepted, and this for several reasons, one being that we already have texts in sociology using the term "human relations" as the central object matter, and another that sociology has been working for a century or more to delimit its overcomprehensive field to the social and cultural aspects of human relations. The text under review distinctly states "throughout the book our analysis has been based on two associated assumptions: that man is an organism, and that the adjustment of one individual to others can be explained in terms of known facts of physiology." They call this process of adjustment "interaction," and consciously or otherwise retrace the steps of sociologists (for instance, Park and Burgess) in making interaction the basic process of this science of human relations. There is a fundamental difference, however, as the present reviewer sees it, in the treatment of interaction in the two fields; in sociology the effort has been steadily in the direction of treating interaction as a dynamic in the sense of mutual modification and of searching out the subprocesses of this all-embracing "social interaction" in order to ascertain more fully and exactly its meaning content for those who are doing the interacting. This has produced, in sociology, many fruitful chapters dealing with the relative amount of opposition or cooperation represented in the different processes singled out. This has led to an effort to state the meanings in more comprehensive but still dynamic terms, so that very recently some have proposed (von Wiese for example) that the all-inclusive process on its psychical content side may be expressed in the term "social distance" in its many forms and degrees. The book under review seems to have worked in the opposite direction and to emphasize always the number and frequency of the interactions. These interactions are ascribed to conditioned reflexes, which in turn rest upon differences in geographic conditions and hereditary factors in the members of the group under study in any case. The "principle" remains, therefore; purely quantitative and leaves one wondering why these human beings under study act at all and what the meaning of their social patterns is

to them. The text thus moves in the direction taken by Margaret Meade, Thomas, Plante, Carstens, and others in sociology and related fields, but gives merely glimpses of the role and amount of human interaction looked at from an external point of view, so that the reader remains ignorant of the real content of the processes as if human beings were cells or molecules into the meaning of whose interactions the anthropological observer has no means of entering as a participant. In short, this science of human relations reduces itself to the external measurement of the quantity, speed, and direction of human interaction without any real insight into how it feels to be a human being oneself.

The general method of the book seems to be that of defining certain social phenomena under a new set of terms and selecting examples from a wide range of standard anthropological literature. The terms themselves have not met the present reviewer's eye before, and it would seem that they were not taken from the usage of anthropological workers. The authors give no reference to earlier authorities using the terms, and they are not found by the general reader in anthropology. The terms referred to include, among others, the following as defined in their glossary: *origin of action*—that action which begins interaction—the first action in a sequence; *terminus*—the person who responds to an origin of action; *event*—a continuous sequence of interaction between two or more individuals; *pair event*—an event between two individuals; *set event*—an event between three or more individuals in which one person originates to the others; *set*—a group of individuals who interact in set events arranged in such a way that some of the members only originate action and others only terminate it. In the text itself (p. 283) the authors further distinguish as follows: "a set is an aggregate of relations of such a nature that every individual is a member of one of three classes in it, as follows:

- A. A class of individuals who only originate.
- B. An intermediate class who respond to the origins of Class A and who originate to members of Class C.
- C. A terminal class of individuals, who only respond, and who do so to the origins of members of both A and B."

All of this is illustrated visually by elaborate diagrams which, like most diagrams, increase the burden on the student.

The factual materials of the book are given mostly as illustrations of the concepts, but there are other chapters which marshal large bodies of material in a helpful way, especially the chapter on "Terrestrial Environments" and the chapters immediately following on the various aspects of technology, such as manufacturing, gathering, husbandry, and transportation.

The word "symbol" as used by these writers takes a special and very limited meaning as "any object . . . which sets off a conditioned response" and likewise with their use of the word "ritual" as "a symbolic configuration used to restore equilibrium after a crisis." C.M.C.

ISLAND PEOPLES OF THE WESTERN PACIFIC: MICRONESIA AND MELANESIA. By HERBERT W. KRIEGER. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1943, pp. 104.

This timely monograph deals with the patterns of culture of both Micronesia and Melanesia in a clear-cut, fascinating manner. In terms of culture, the Marshall Islands, the Gilbert Islands, the Caroline Islands, the Solomon Islands, the Bismarck Islands, the Fiji Islands pass rapidly before the reader. Twenty photographic plates make culture patterns vivid. The peoples of these island worlds "are now passing through a process of acculturation to the standards of living developed in the Western world." It remains to be seen whether they will make the necessary adjustments, such as "adjusting their dance rhythms to the staccato noises of a motor's exhaust," or "lose all zest for living alone with their isolation."

ITALIAN OR AMERICAN? THE SECOND GENERATION IN CONFLICT. By IRVIN L. CHILD. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943, pp. 208.

In this revised doctoral dissertation, the author describes several selected case studies of second-generation Italian Americans in New Haven. He used the interview method and quotes very often from his notes. The data are personal, factual, and concrete. They relate directly to the relatively few persons who it is assumed are somewhat representative. The author raises the question concerning the reliability of the statements made to him by some of his interviewees. He did not resort to subterfuge but frankly told the interviewees what he wanted and explained his thesis ambitions. He participated in some of the normal life activities of the interviewees and thus gained a basis for checking upon the reliability of his data.

The author's approach was from the standpoint of the social situation in which young Italian Americans are trying to make adjustments. He describes the social situation, gives the Italian American's reactions to it, and classifies these reactions into three major ones, namely, the rebel, the in-group, and the apathetic. The first two types of attitudes are fairly clear cut and understood. One represents a reaction against things distinctly Italian in the attempt to become American. The second reaction is that of the person who prefers to live in the parental culture and who does not seek to be American. The third reaction is baffling at certain points. It is the reaction of one who retreats from conflict, who tries to

steer clear from acculturation problems, and who at times adopts a hyphenated adjustment. In this connection the use of the term "apathetic" may be questioned. Perhaps the word is a label of an exterior type of behavior. It may include several types of reaction that have been discussed in the literature on the marginal person. Another question that needs further treatment is: Why do some Italian Americans become "rebel," some "in-group," and some "apathetic"? Also, are there persons in whom all these various attitudes find expression? The study makes clear the desire of the second-generation person for status, and gently suggests that Americans should give more attention to helping immigrants acquire status in our nation.

E.S.B.

THE JAPANESE IN SOUTH AMERICA. An Introductory Survey with Special Reference to Peru. By J. F. NORMANO and ANTONELLO GERBI. New York: The John Day Co., 1943, pp. x+135.

The authors give considerable detailed information about the history of Japanese immigration to both Brazil and Peru, about the legislation in both countries governing such immigration, and about the development of trade relations between each of these countries and Japan. In both countries immigration of the Japanese developed until about ten years ago, when Japanese expansion westward into the Orient was being pushed. In Brazil the immigrants from Japan entered into rural activities in the south; whereas in Peru there was an extensive development along the line of small businesses in Lima and other coastal communities. Both Brazil and Peru have grown apprehensive regarding Japanese immigration.

PATTERNS OF NEGRO SEGREGATION. By CHARLES S. JOHNSON. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943, pp. xxii+332.

To anyone who is accustomed to take matters of race segregation and discrimination lightly this book will be an eye opener. To those who recognize the seriousness of segregation and discrimination, the book will still be an eye opener, for there is little realization even on the part of many students of racial problems of the great variety of ways in which the Negro is segregated from one region to another, from one state to another, from one city to another, and from one part of a city to another part of the same city. Segregation occurs most frequently (1) in residential areas, (2) in educational institutions, (3) in recreational and amusement institutions, (4) on railroads, ships, streetcars, and busses, (5) in hotels and restaurants, (6) in stores, (7) in hospitals and in the professional offices of doctors and undertaking establishments. To a Negro who does any traveling at all in the United States, the uppermost question in his mind most of the time must be, can I do thus, or can I not? Whether

too aggressive or too sensitive, he runs into trouble. The endless shades of meaning of segregation from one social situation to the next which white people dominate must keep many Negro minds in continual turmoil.

After recital of case after case of variation in the segregation and discrimination of the Negro in the form (1) of customs and taboos, (2) of race legislation, and (3) of an ideology that defines and defends the color line, Dr. Johnson analyzes the reactions of the Negro to segregation and discrimination. These reactions are: (1) acceptance, (2) avoidance, and (3) hostility and aggression. Additional light is needed on the reasons why persons exemplify one of these reactions and not the others. However, there can be no question in view of the page after page of evidence that is dispassionately produced that the total effect of the constant yet varying expressions of segregation and discrimination upon the personalities of a race must exceed all current estimates. "The ubiquitous color line" in the United States is "irrational and intangible in many relationships"; it is "one of the most positive realities in American life"; and it is "uniquely, persistently, and universally an American institution." But what can be done about this American institution which if allowed to drift threatens to create an interracial war? Except by indirection, the author leaves the answer to this problem to his readers. E.S.B.

FRENCH CANADA IN TRANSITION. By EVERETT C. HUGHES. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943, pp. 227.

With scientific objectivity, the relationships between English Canadians and French Canadians are presented as they were discovered in a small community in Quebec, Cantonville. In 1911 the township of Cantonville was a rural community center of an agricultural district with a population of 2,605, cherishing the culture pattern of the French *habitant*. By 1937 the population had grown to 19,424 as a result of the coming of industries and the opportunities for work which they offered.

Successively discussed are the government, the Catholic parishes and schools, and the Protestant church and schools. Religious and patriotic ceremonies give color to French-Canadian life in contrast to English Protestant customs. The local situation with its few signs of giving way before urbanization and contact with the English and its high local birth rates prophesies the continuing population dominance of the French Canadians. However, industry has changed the organization of the family; and the responsibility of children for their parents under the rural plan of division of farms among the children seems to be considerably lessened in the change from rural to town economy.

The Catholic church has many organizations for its people functioning on different sex and age levels. The English and Americans have their

own social activities. In a few instances there has been intermarriage, but on the whole the two groups remain socially distinct.

In the last part of the book, "The Metropolis," the author discusses Montreal. While Cantonville may be thought of as typical of the smaller centers, it, like the others, is influenced by the metropolis through which come the English and American cultural influences and industrial change. The last chapter carries the picturesque title, "Quebec Seeks a Villain." Attacks upon foreign leaders of business and industry, upon foreign workers, upon the Jews, upon Communists, and upon their own leaders for failure to provide adequate education to meet the new demands are illustrations of the "scapegoats" blamed for the discontent of the French Canadians and their failure to find more effective roles in the changing economy. The author explains: "It is perhaps the fate of a minority people, no matter what the political system under which it lives, to have major changes introduced by cultural aliens. The industrial revolution of the present moves masses of people from country to city, upsets the equilibrium of the classes, strikes at the very content and aims of education, and threatens a way of life that has, in the past, given comfort and deep satisfaction to its followers."

B.A.MCC.

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER. By RACKHAM HOLT. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1943, pp. viii+342.

This biography is an unusually well-written document. The author shows splendid judgment in the choice of materials and writes in excellent style. The book will become a historical volume of lasting merit.

George Washington Carver began life as a child of slave parents and reached a high level of recognition as indicated by his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. Without a mother, sister, or wife to help him, he never lacked for a few understanding friends. He had certain "compulsions," partly innate and partly learned in each case. He worked alone. He felt at home with plants. He had an artistic strain. He was genial. He was humble. He was deeply religious. He gave his life to improve the conditions of living of his race. He gave up his bent for art and devoted his life to the development of better agricultural methods for the Negro. He examined the sweet potato in his laboratory at Tuskegee and it yielded over a hundred useful products. He put the lowly peanut under the scrutinizing eye of his test tubes, and discovered over 300 different uses to which it could be put. Simpson College, Iowa, proudly claimed him as her most famous alumnus, and Tuskegee Institute honored him for his forty years and more of service on her faculty. The victim of race prejudice, inhuman at times, he exemplifies the spirit of human tolerance at its best. He made not only his race but all mankind his debtor.

E.M.P.

SOCIAL THEORY

ORIGINS OF AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY. By L. L. BERNARD and JESSIE BERNARD. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1943, pp. xiv+866.

American sociologists should be grateful to the Bernards for the task they set for themselves in this discussion of the Social Science Movement in the United States and for having so very competently fulfilled it. Two streams of social thought, one in the liberal democratic mold, the other in an authoritarian guise, poured into the United States during the nineteenth century. The first of these, stressing the importance of the individual, reason, and science, became the main current of the Social Science Movement and watered and nurtured the democratic philosophy of life and assisted in the demand for a scientific methodology to be utilized in gaining democratic ends.

As robustly analyzed by the Bernards, the movement represented itself in a ninefold manner: (1) utopian aspiration and idealism; (2) metaphysical speculation and search for the unification of general principles; (3) efforts to establish certain realistic working principles of social welfare and reform; (4) organization of a national association and of local groups for discussion and promotion of reforms; (5) an academic discipline; (6) an attempt at systematization through the development of a succession of methodologies which gradually led to the establishment of (7) dependable statistical procedures and organization, (8) the differentiation and redistribution of effort into the several social sciences, and into (9) the new discipline, sociology. The story of the growth and development of these is told in a style that is fresh and vigorous, thereby becoming a significant and intriguing account of the struggle to make the scientific control of society a reality. Forgotten and little-known social thinkers are recalled—men like George Frederick Holmes, Robert S. Hamilton, and Henry C. Carey. Utopian schemes, long since buried, are unearthed. The work of the American Social Science Association and the development of social science in the schools and colleges are given topical treatment. One of the best portions of the book is devoted to the charting of the influence of Comte upon American social thought. The authors' research reveals that the first American reference to Comte occurred in 1840.

The brilliance of Comte's analysis of Positivism and its significance for all science not only came as a dartlike challenge but proved to be a bombshell let loose upon a whole flock of complacent theological and metaphysical thinkers. The Bernards finely appraise the influence of Comte and give in nice detail the spirited controversy over the relative

merits of Comte and Spencer that shook the scientific circles of the nineteenth century. The Social Science Movement, sometimes opportunistic and wavering, sometimes so brilliantly represented by a Lester F. Ward, ended by attempting to "construct a theory of social organization and evolution" providing for "an adequate blue print for detailed human betterment" and for working out a careful application of scientific methods, largely quantitative in character," that will make possible concrete steps in social reform. The volume is an imposing one and carries with it the inspiration of finely applied scientific research and appraisal.

M.J.V.

THE SURVIVAL OF WESTERN CULTURE. By RALPH TYLER FLEWELLING.
New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943, pp. xv+304.

The author does not believe that the decline of Western civilization is to be followed necessarily by its demise. He does not accept the seeming inevitableness of Spengler. He grants the worst and looks for the best. He admits that the individualism which has given Western civilization a remarkable set of material achievements would be nearing its end if it could produce no more than scientific progress, but he also finds in the democratic individualism of the West certain dynamic spiritual values which by their nature will not be downed. These are represented by "the spirit of freedom and creativity" which resides deep in human consciousness and which has power to overcome decadent political, economic, and social forms, and to make new discoveries and to develop social forms. Moreover, under the influence of this innate urge for freedom and for creativity, individualism can reach the higher levels of a personalistic faith which enjoys "a community of feeling with what is highest in Oriental culture," and which thus has possibilities of helping to lay the foundations for a creative world understanding.

Dr. Flewelling is no blind guide of the blind. He recognizes a quagmire when he sees it, and he boldly diagnoses current ills when he asserts that "we suffer from the provincialisms of overspecialization," which are "discoverable in the growing innocuousness of our educational curricula, in the meaninglessness of our amusements, in the journalistic reign of our mob psychology, in the overflooded presses issuing the latest fiction, in the detonations of our jazz orchestras, the popular crooning of the radio," and so on. The survival of Western culture can come through "bringing all types of education within the reach of all classes of society," through a better social organization "founded on the spiritual and moral readjustment of society," and through regimentation, not by totalitarianism but by the self-regimentation of democratic societies. Western culture will survive, not through personal liberty but through personal liberty governed by personal restraint, and not through the self-seeking of indi-

vidualism but through the self-giving of personalism. Society is entitled to the best that is in every personality, but in obtaining that best society will have to give every person full opportunity to express and develop the best that is in him, not through an easy education or an absolutist religion but through an education tempered by self-discipline and a religion tempered by love. Absolutism and democracy are in deadly conflict today. If democracy wins without selling out to absolutism, "we are already in the bending circle of a changing direction of history." Space gives no opportunity for a critique; much less does it give opportunity for an adequate presentation of the scope and depth of the author's philosophic interpretation of history.

E.S.B.

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY. Shield of the Republic. By WALTER LIPPMANN. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943, pp. xiii+177.

Herein Walter Lippmann examines the foreign policy of the United States and finds that since 1900 whatever there has been of a foreign policy has been dangerously inadequate. Because of this, the nation has twice been caught unprepared for both war and peace. The explanation of the inadequacy lies in the commitments we made for the protection of the Philippines and which necessitated the domination of the Pacific. The Monroe Doctrine had committed us to protect the Americas, but this task did not call for any great increase of power because Britain with her mastery of the sea recognized the Doctrine as correlating with her own desires and safety. When Germany began to challenge British sea supremacy in 1914, we had to unite with Britain. Isolationists have failed to note that our commitments force the making of alliances which help us to keep them. Critics will seize upon Mr. Lippmann's solution for an alliance between Britain, Russia, China, and the United States to maintain the peace of the world as nothing more or less than the old balance-of-power bloc. With the education of a large part of the youth of the world in the art of firearms, it is difficult to see how any other safety for us may be guaranteed. The future peace may have to wait until a worldwide education of youth in the art of brotherhood is achieved. Lippmann once saw things differently, but his more mature view of the world situation has convinced him that, if we make commitments, we must have power to support them. It is these that shape our foreign affairs and policies and determine who are our friends and our enemies. Certain it is that when we guarantee the four freedoms to all peoples we are making commitments. Without alliances we cannot guarantee these freedoms even to ourselves. The book is a forceful and provocative argument for the persistent reality of the United Nations. It is also an answer to the anti-British sentiment which sometimes is fanned to the danger point by enemy agents.

M.J.V.

POPULATION PROBLEMS: A CULTURAL INTERPRETATION. By PAUL H. LANDIS. New York: American Book Company, 1943, pp. xii+500.

Carefully prepared, this sociological text on problems of population by Dr. Landis has four principal objectives, namely, the emphasizing of social and cultural forces acting upon the biological behavior of man, the stressing of social implications of population data, the classifying of population into meaningful sociological categories, and the presenting of population movements as a function of changing culture patterns. These aims have been fulfilled in a most satisfying manner. Since population phenomena affect in a vital way almost all social problems and have meaning for a wide range of human activity, it is important that students of sociology be given an opportunity to gain clear insight into these phenomena for the purpose of understanding the social implications. The author is eminently successful in doing just this by means of forceful and incisive presentations. The materials have been organized under five general headings: (1) population facts and population theories; (2) cultural forces in vital processes; (3) sex, age, and ethnic composition; (4) sociocultural factors in the distribution of population; and (5) problems of migration. In the concluding chapter, Dr. Landis discusses the vital importance of a population policy for the United States, quoting the words of the Swedish population authority, Gunnar Myrdal, "no other factor—not even that of peace or war—is so tremendously fatal for the long-time destinies of democracies as the factor of population," to support his contention that the United States must adopt such. Any sound policy must be directed toward the maintenance of the child's welfare in the best possible environment.

M.J.V.

THE MORALE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ARMY. By ALLEN BOWMAN. Introduction by Arthur Pope. Washington, D.C.: The American Council on Public Affairs, 1943, pp. 160.

Professor Bowman of Marion College has written a critical exposé of the role played by morale in the Revolutionary Army. It is shown how the morale of our troops fluctuated with hope and despair, victory and defeat, comfort and hardship. Such conditions as the following indicated a low state of morale: absenteeism, desertion, short terms of military service, frequent furloughs, and organized mutinies. Few Americans realize that half the militia enrolled during the Revolutionary period deserted; thus, the mythical "Spirit of 1776" was not always a positive feeling of ultimate victory.

If Dr. Bowman had defined the central term morale more completely, he might have contributed to the field of social psychology as well as to history. The monograph is well written and is a scholarly piece of work.

EDWARD C. McDONAGH

PREFACE TO PEACE. A Symposium. New York: cooperatively published by Simon and Schuster, Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., and Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. xii+437.

This book, which contains Wendell Willkie's popular *One World*, Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson's *The Problems of a Lasting Peace*, and selections from Henry A. Wallace's *The Century of the Common Man* and Sumner Welles' *The World of the Four Freedoms*, allows its readers to note what these five prominent men, all of whom have been intimately concerned with American foreign policy, have to offer on the subject of the coming peace. Different as their views may be, a thread of unity is readily apparent in all, disclosing itself in the form of American idealism and expressing the hope that, somehow or other, there are left enough men of good will and purpose who can assemble and demonstrate that, regardless of race or creed, the peoples of the world may be united so that they may live harmoniously together.

Mr. Willkie's *One World* is already established as a best seller and has been reviewed previously in this *Journal*. His ideas on the compactness of the world have favorably impressed all but the die-hard isolationists, and in this volume *One World* stands out as the best and most revealingly brilliant. The Messrs. Hoover and Gibson have presented their own version of a historical background of World War I and Versailles to clarify and support their principal arguments for a lasting peace. Seven dynamic forces making for peace and war have been operating ever since the dawn of civilization, according to these authors. They are: (1) ideologies; (2) economic pressures; (3) nationalism; (4) militarism; (5) imperialism; (6) the complexes of fear, hate, and revenge; and (7) the will to peace. It is the manner of dealing with these forces at the peace table that will tell whether or not lasting peace may be attained.

The compilers of the book have entitled the selections from Mr. Wallace's book "The Price of a Free World Victory." The notes of a democratic Christianity reverberate throughout, and Mr. Wallace pins his faith for a lasting peace on the practical demonstration of religion and its forces, putting "God's earth more completely at the service of all mankind." "Blue Print for Peace" is the title given to the selections from Mr. Welles' book. It is unfortunate that so little space should have been allotted to him, for his work in the State Department has shown deep insight into the nature of the foreign policies of the world. Mr. Welles is convinced that some form of international supervision and control of armaments is essential for peace and that there can be no assurance of a lasting peace unless all the peoples of the world are allowed to participate in equal economic enjoyment. These selections offer a magnificent opportunity for just that.

M.J.V.

CHARLES HORTON COOLEY, HIS LIFE AND HIS SOCIAL THEORY.

By EDWARD C. JANDY. New York: The Dryden Press, 1943, pp. viii+319.

In the Introduction, Willard Waller speaks of the great opportunity that was utilized by the author in writing this "interpretive introduction" to the life and work of Cooley, namely, the opportunity to study, classify, and abstract the Journal that Cooley kept for about forty years. This Journal is especially valuable because in it Cooley recorded many of his daily thoughts. The author has made the most of the valuable materials in the Journal both in writing the biographical sketch and in preparing the summary of Cooley's sociology. About 240 short quotations are given from Cooley's thinking when it was in the process of becoming. It is these references which constitute a major contribution of this book.

Another important value of the book is the brief but revealing portrait of the youth and the man, Cooley. This picture adds definitely to an understanding of the thought processes of one of the six pioneer-founders of sociology in the United States (Ward, Sumner, Small, Giddings, Ross, and Cooley). Still another value of the book is found in the restatement of Cooley's social theory. The result is more than a restatement, for by the citations from the Journal and by comparisons between Cooley's theories and those of his peers new light is thrown on the significance of Cooley's place among social theorists. The weaknesses of the book are too few and minor to be emphasized in view of the thoroughgoing understanding presented of Cooley the Man and Cooley the Social Theorist. Students who are beginning the study of sociological thought will find the book of inestimable assistance; others will be stimulated too. E.S.B.

UNION RIGHTS AND UNION DUTIES. By JOEL SEIDMAN. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943, pp. viii+238.

This survey and analysis of union rights and duties have been made with a high degree of competence. Mr. Seidman, who has been in service as field examiner for the National Labor Relations Board, discusses the problem of union responsibility with respect to membership, to employers, and to the public. He also examines with care the responsibilities of employers and those of the government to the unions.

Without partisanization, he recites the need for better democratic practices in some union organizations, the tendencies of some unions to bar men because of race, creed, color, and nationality, the restrictions employed by some to limit membership through the apprenticeship limitations and exorbitant initiation fees. Well-ordered and managed unions have demonstrated their rights to existence and governmental protection; but for the general well-being of unionism as a whole, honest, open, and democratic practices must be obtained. Similarly, Mr. Seidman believes that employers must observe labor relations laws in good faith, must give

up their spies and professional strikebreakers and company unions, and adopt a sympathetic understanding with union leadership and membership.

Governmental officials, especially the judiciary, have been arrayed many times against unions and have shown little understanding of the problems of wage earners. A fine point is made by the author in stating that under present laws unionism is "not voluntary in many areas of industry" and that, inasmuch as employers are legally obligated to bargain with unions desired by a majority of workers, the government should be obligated to see that unions are honestly and democratically administered. "The public is entitled to a clean labor movement, free from suspicion of graft and racketeering," and the unions would do well to partake more fully in the life of the community of which they are a part. The author's suggestions for improving the relationships among unions, employers, the government, and the public are sanely grounded and capable of inauguration.

M.J.V.

CONSUMER AND OPINION RESEARCH. By ALBERT B. BLANKENSHIP. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943, pp. x+238.

This book makes a practical analysis of the questionnaire technique of research. As the title indicates, the author connects the subject in a dualistic way with two major fields in which questionnaires are used. The result is an awkward title. Not the theory of the questionnaire as a research method but concrete ways of using it are described and explained. Among the chapter headings are these: the general technique of conducting surveys, preliminary assembly of the questionnaire, testing the questionnaire, the size of the sample, the process of interviewing, preparing the report, the case against the questionnaire survey. The book gives a large number of realistic points regarding the use of questionnaires by business men and by people who wish to study opinions of groups. There are discussions of the questionnaire method in both commercial surveys, as such, and opinion polls, as though similar aims obtained in both fields. The sharp variations in purposes are not clearly defined. The book is more valuable for use in making the commercial surveys, in which the aim is to find out what people want, than it is in making opinion polls, where the why and wherefore of opinions and even the origins of opinions are significant.

E.S.B.

WAR BABIES AND THE FUTURE. By WILLIAM F. OGBURN. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 83; New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1943, pp. 32.

Professor Ogburn gives a brief summary of topics such as these: war babies, deaths in wartime, the increase or decrease of populations during war, effects on the family, people on the move, and population and future wars.

LIVING DEMOCRACY. *The Record of an Interpreter.* By LYNN HAROLD HOUGH. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1943, pp. 153.

These thirteen addresses and sermons were delivered by the author during the summer of 1942 while he was in England. The last essay, which is entitled "Democracy in an Alien World," contends that democracy is always in an alien world, partly because it represents principles whose meaning we never fully achieve. It represents "an ideal so high that men's practice perpetually betrays their profession of its principles." It has two foci—individual liberty and governmental authority. A true democracy "will never use force against freedom" but "will use force to protect freedom," and hence is often sorely tempted to use force to suppress freedom.

ISLANDS AND PEOPLES OF THE INDIES. By RAYMOND KENNEDY. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, pp. iv+66.

The Netherlands East Indies are the subject of this well-executed monograph. The peoples of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Moluccas, and other islands are described in terms of race, temperament, history, language, economic organization, housing, handicrafts, social organization, religion, education. Well-drawn maps and several excellent photographs add to one's understanding of "the largest archipelago in the world," which extends for 3,000 miles along the equator and which now is in Japanese hands.

PRACTICAL SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By HELEN C. MANZER. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1942, pp. xiii+366.

This book is designed particularly for the use of students in schools of nursing. It contains a plethora of social facts, but is lacking at the point of sociological principles. Little mention is made of the basic social processes. It includes materials on community welfare, family welfare, sickness, unemployment, old age, child labor, housing, and public health. There is need for an improved organization; for example, Part III bears the broad title of "Social Cooperation," but it contains only one chapter and that deals with public health alone. The style of writing is clear and the facts are well presented, but the total result is not an adequate presentation of the sociological approach or of the significance of sociological principles for the study of social problems.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

LEVELS OF LIVING AND POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN RURAL AREAS OF OHIO, 1930-1940. By A. R. MANGUS and ROBERT L. MC-NAMARA. Wooster, Ohio: Agricultural Experiment Station, 1943, pp. 62.

ABSORBING THE TOTAL LABOR SUPPLY. By EMERSON P. SCHMIDT. Washington, D.C.: Chamber of Commerce of U.S.A., 1943, pp. 30.

A SURVEY OF ALCOHOL EDUCATION IN ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES. By ANNE ROE. New Haven: Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1943, pp. 132.

INTER-AMERICAN COOPERATION THROUGH COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES. Education and National Defense Series Pamphlet No. 14. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1943, pp. 34.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM IN CALIFORNIA. By WINSTON W. CROUCH. Los Angeles: The Haynes Foundation, 1943, pp. 32.

THERE WERE TWO MEN. A Parable for Cooperators. By BOB STALEY. Columbus: Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperatives, 1943, pp. 64.

In the Introduction by Murray D. Lincoln, president of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., it is stated that this "picture book" can well be "one of the first introductions for many children to the Cooperative Way." It presents "in simple yet commanding style the fundamental principles through which cooperators are endeavoring to improve the lot of mankind by getting people to join hands to serve themselves."

THE CHIANGS OF CHINA. By ELMER T. CLARK. Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943, pp. 127.

In simple, straightforward language the seven chapters of this book tell a story of Charles Jones Soong in America and in China, the story of the Soong children in school, the story of the Kungs, the Suns, the Soongs, the Chiangs, and the story of Mayling Soong Chiang's recent visit in the United States. Fine tributes are paid to all the main characters, including Madame Charles Soong, the mother of the Soong children. Twenty excellent photographs of the famous personages whose lives are discussed add special interest to the reading of this small but charming treatise.

SOCIAL FICTION

SO LITTLE TIME. A Novel. By JOHN P. MARQUAND. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1943, pp. 594.

The deeper significance of this novel seems to lie in the mature and seasoned reflections which novelist Marquand makes about certain aspects of American life on the eve of the second World War. Without any particular plot, the story of the principal character, Jeffrey Wilson, is told with such deep insight and sensitive perception that each scene, no matter how disconnected from the others, is filled with intense interest. Jeffrey had been brought up in a small Massachusetts town, gone to Harvard, worked as a rewrite man for a newspaper, served as an aviator in the first World War, and finally become successful in the rewriting of dramas for authors who had ideas but couldn't put them across for the Broadway taste. This success enabled him to share part of the life of the world of make-believe as well as to enjoy after a fashion a respectable family life with a conventional wife and three children, none of whom, save his eldest son Jim, ever quite understood him. Nor did he ever identify himself with any except Jim. Marquand's portraits of Madge, the wife, who complains continuously that Jeffrey never tells her anything and who couldn't have grasped the real meaning of the things if he had, and of Walter Newcombe, the war correspondent and author of *World Assignment*, are masterfully drawn.

The scenes shift in time from 1941 to flash backs of the nineteen-ten decade, giving a fine perspective of the social changes in the American scene. The characters, moving restlessly through the years, chatting and quarreling, gossiping and loving, are all somewhat assured of what they want, yet dissatisfied with what they get. There is so little time in which to find the meaning of their lives. They are attached to their routines, their country homes and gardens, their week-end parties, their social contacts with the near-great, their personal charm and lack of charm in others. They grope for reality, but it just escapes them as it escapes Jeffrey, who catches only enough fleeting glimpses of it to make him constantly restive. This skillful observation of the lives of certain people is enlivened with the aid of razor-edged satire. Bright and sharp are the sketches of adolescent college life, of cafe society, of Hollywood studio life, of swank town-apartment existence, of country home sojourning. The author of *H. M. Pulham, Esquire*, has now demonstrated that he is an able social historian of the sophisticated in our times.

M.J.V.

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